Yenangyaung oilfields, support of Ministers, and the indifference of 873
the less worthy sections of University staff and students towards the 668
nationalist movement.

The crowning event of my years there was the great strike of 1936
when about 600 students got into buses just before the final examinations
and encamped themselves on the slopes of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda hill,
with much sympathy and material support from the public, the men
returning every morning to picket the black-leg examination candidates
by lying across all exits and entrances—a completely successful technique,
for it is an unthinkable insult to a Buddhist male to have his body trodden [577]
on, and no Burman, or Burma Indian or Chinese for that matter, will
dare to inflict such an insult. Some of the strikers felt, after the rallying
speeches in the Union, that they were striking to evict an immoral
member of the staff who had the support of the Principal whom they
considered an autocrat; others knew that definite demands had been
put forward for the amendment of the University Act, the ultimate result
of which would be to make this Principal more accountable to Burmese
political leaders; a great majority felt a wave of unnameable exaltation as
they stormed hall after hall for recruits, ringing bells and shouting, "Come
on, sisters, the day of freedom has arrived at last!" and almost all banged
and cheered as they drove away, on the roofs, the steps and the wheels
of the buses, at the thought of no examinations that year, and the exciting
days of picketing ahead. But it was a tragic and unhappy time for some
who did not have money to waste on another year before graduation and
who trusted that the authorities would succeed in holding the examinations,
or for others who did not join out of personal loyalties of the moment and
who had friends and brothers with impassioned convictions on the other
side. I shall always remember the face of my friend Ko Ohn, as he refused
to let a doctor into Inya Hall to attend to a sick non-striker, his
good face so full of distress and his longyi all smudged with the melted
tarmac of the road in which he had been lying under the hot March sun.
"Please, we must do it," he said; "I am so thirsty and my head is aching,
but we must do it for our country."

One of the reasons for the focussing of public interest on the University 873
students was the great interest taken in the development of the 562
young women there. The male students, like the public, were not interested
in them only for reasons of courtship or companionship, but took 179
a keen objective interest in them. It has been said of Burma that she
has no feminist movements because none have been necessary; the
women have always had all the rights they wanted. But it goes further
than that. Burmese men take a sincere pride in the achievements of a
woman who can successfully invade spheres outside her domestic tasks.

873 Far from the medical and legal professions presenting a closed phalanx
562 to the first women seeking to enter, Burmans love to introduce their
•178 distinguished women as "the first lady doctor" and "the first lady barrister". On the other hand they demand that on no account shall a woman take on mannish and immodest behaviour and outlook with her new abilities. Allowances will be made, if necessary, for weaker constitutions, extra time spent on the making of a formal sadone hair style before attending work, or for soft voices.

Hence, in University College, where there was a generation of adolescent girls, some of whom had never before been to Rangoon from their district schools, the greatest interest was taken in their line of development—their scholastic success, their interest in or indifference to politics and nationalism, the degree of their response to Westernizing influences, their clothes and their morals—and yet the most censorious interest was not to be taken as personal or malicious. It was concern for the future of Burmese womanhood, we were told. Thus no woman student had any private life or anonymity. Whatever characteristics she possessed were taken up by a few who were interested in those particular qualities and then received the attentions of the great body of men students who only wanted something to sharpen their wit on. The height of this interfering concern, on the part of young men, for the moral welfare of young women was reached in 1940 when a petition was seriously put up to the Principal of University College, by a number of students, that certain young women be ordered to shorten the shoulder straps of the ornamental bodices worn under the transparent jackets. So sincere was their solicitude that the Principal felt constrained to refer the matter to the Warden of the Women's Hall for action.

But the young men were not stinting in approval either, even though the majority expressed it in loud good-natured chaff. In fact, for a keen interest in politics, for wit, for exquisite coyness or a proud beauty, the girls in University College were in as much limelight as can surround a rugger hero at an English University. And indeed, the word "hero" was used for them because the word "heroine" could not be shouted in Burmese euphony. Hence, if a report had gone abroad that a girl had swum the 2,000 yards of the cross-lake track, or had harangued a group of young men for bad manners, or was coming to a lecture with her hair in an informal knot at the back of her head instead of a formal sadone, she was greeted on entrance by a hundred odd youths stamping and cheering and jeering and all shouting, "Hero! Hero!"

873 No wonder there was love everywhere. Even in modern Rangoon
562 an unmarried young man and woman could not be seen without the
883 presence of a third person, but sentimental love flourished all the more

hollow pipes of glass, coloured in a variety of tints. The 301
shape is somewhat peculiar, a slight irregular concave, if I 565
may be allowed the expression, the front being a little larger
in diameter than the back. Some of the princesses wore
very costly na-daung, the diamonds, and especially the rubies,
for which Burma is celebrated, being exceedingly fine. The 301
men, except those of high rank, very seldom wear them, 562
unless on exceptional feast days. Women ordinarily put
them on whenever they go out. Poor people keep the holes
open with a roll of paper or cloth. A *chic* damsel very often
courts attention by carrying spare cheroots dangling from
her lobes. Elder women who subordinate personal appearance
to bodily comforts usually do the same thing on a
journey. It secures them a smoke whenever they may want
it, and the huge green cheroots are not easily carried in the
penetralia of the Burmese female dress, while if they were in
the travelling box, they might be abstracted by unscrupulous
youngsters.

It is curious to notice how much the custom is falling 301
into disuse in the larger towns with the men. Even among 562
the wealthier classes you seldom see a man wearing a na- 369
daung of the largest size. Those of the thickness of a pencil 178 ●
or a little less are still common, but they too probably will
pass out of use shortly. Yet this used to be looked upon
as the distinctive mark of Burmese nationality. Probably,
nowadays, the tattooing is considered sufficient; while the
ear-plugs were certainly inconvenient things, and afforded
obvious attractions to robbers. But with the women ear-boring
is still universal, and probably will continue so as long
as the men go on tattooing, notwithstanding the pain of the
process. The na-daung are as characteristic of the Burmese
women as the flapping tamein.

little used. This punishment was calculated to isolate the offending brother. The other yahans were to avoid speaking to him, to the extent of not even uttering a rebuke, if he indulged in indiscreet talk. Nowadays, when one pyin-sin is irritated with another, he does not indeed talk to him, or go and abuse him, but he advises the people to have nothing to do with him, and give him no alms. 792

Indeed many laxities have crept in. Some casuists evade the rule against touching gold and silver. It is becoming lamentably common for monks, otherwise eminently pious and worthy of respect, not only not to refuse money, but actually to receive it with their own hands—covered with a handkerchief. Such unprincipled playing with the letter of the law is vehemently denounced by the Sulagandi, and disliked by the more earnest laymen, even when the pyin-sin does not personally shave so close to the wind, but bids one of his schoolboys take the coin and put it in the box. Of a piece with this is the roundabout way of getting anything the monk may especially desire. He may not directly ask for anything, if it were even food to save him from starvation, far less must he bargain for the object he wishes. Therefore an elaborate method of exchange has been invented by a yahan in whom the passion of covetousness was far from being extinguished. He says, such and such a thing "is useless to me; but what is the value of that? I have begging-bowls, iron, clay, and lacquer in abundance, but my robe is sadly worn and discoloured. That thengan is seemly and suitable for a holy man. Thrice blessed is he that giveth alms, his merit will wax great." Very often he thus gets the thing he wants without having to part with previous alms-gifts. Others, perhaps, a little more scrupulous, mention to the kappiyadāyaka, the manciple of the kyaung, that they would be glad to have such and such a thing, and he provides it out of the monastic funds. All this trifling with the spirit of the patimauk is, however, strenuously denounced by the Sulagandi, who in Lower Burma have gathered a large proportion of the more right-hinking of the laity to their side. 792 178

Some of the regulations of the Book of the Enfranchise- ent are very singular, but all may be traced to some one 792

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Mon) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be
Ba
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sick will recover and the plague leave the locality. Thereupon the villagers rush off like madmen into the surrounding forest, and run about hither and thither in a reckless way with an open cloth, or the end of their waistcloth, in their hands. Some of them suddenly make a plunge with their cloth over a bush or a tussock of grass, and then closing it up carefully, hurry breathless back to the village. The leip-bya or "butterflies" of the sick man are supposed to have been captured. The paso, or cloth, is carefully opened and shaken over the patient's head, and the leip-bya is supposed to return to its proper habitation. This operation is repeated several times, in case a wrong "butterfly" might have been captured, or lest the actual one should have escaped on the way. Then everybody returns. The function is not without its danger, for it has happened that the [754] temporary mimes have become permanently possessed of evil spirits, and as witches and wizards have proved as great curses to the neighbourhood as any pestilence could have been. Which things are an allegory. The whole ceremony ● [178] is beginning to get into very bad odour in the more settled parts of the province, and respectable people avoid having anything to do with it, while those who have taken a part are ashamed to own it.

776
782

All these nats are directly connected with a particular locality, and therefore well known to, and regularly propitiated by, the inhabitants of that place. But there are abundance of nats to be found elsewhere, away from villages and houses, and all of them equally ready to resent any injury which the passer-by may unwittingly do them. When a Burman starts on a journey he hangs a bunch of plantains, or a twig of the tha-bye tree, on the pole of the buffalo cart or the stern of the boat, to conciliate any spirit whose beat he may intrude upon. The fisherman makes offerings in his nat-sin every time he launches his dug-out; the lonely hunter in the forest deposits some rice and ties together a few leaves whenever he comes across some particularly large and imposing tree, lest there might be a thi'pin-saung nat dwelling there. Should there be none, the tied-back twigs will at any rate stand in evidence to the taw-saung nat, the demon who presides over all the forest.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans)
(Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

Ba 243 452 435

do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

Be 243 439 ●178 256

Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many

Be 82 439 463 563

pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed from his fellow-roysterers.

Be 82 361 256 463 563

The Puzundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

boat. R—— is in luck this morning. We have hardly 256
gone a hundred yards when the "Mah Hlah" comes puffing 442
round the point behind us, with a boat on either side, and 455
three towing astern.

And now we have got back to the mill. The Burmans 000
are discharging their paddy, which is stowed in bulk, into a big cargo boat. The regulation basket is in use, and we do not peer too inquisitively into the bottom of it. The owner of the boat is perched on the lofty carved stern of his craft, and placidly smokes a great cheroot. Presently he will come down and make his way to the office, where he will get a great pile of rupees to carry off, tied in the end of his paso. The greater number of them will probably find their way into the hands of the oily chetty, who is squatting on the bank there. The rest our hleshin will most likely gamble away.

Meanwhile, a long string of coolies is carrying the paddy 256
from the lighter into the godown, a gigantic shed, where there is already a mountain of grain. We skirt round it, and go to the other side. There a few hundred more coolies are running off with more baskets to the mill. The paddy is thrown into huge receptacles on the basement, winnowed, carried up in lifts to the top of the house, three stories high, where it is first of all passed over a long sieve. Here the stalks, leaves, stones, and stumps of cheroots are separated from the grain, which is then passed between two revolving stones, just sufficiently wide apart to grind off the outer husk without breaking the seed. Then it is rewinnowed in fanners, and passed over finer sieves, where the broken grains fall through, while the part-cleaned rice goes on to fresh stones. It is found that perfectly clean rice will not stand the long sea voyage, and the grain as it is sent in the sailing ship has still the inner pellicle, and is mixed with about
twenty per cent of unhusked rice. This is what is technically 236
known as "five parts cargo rice," or simply "cargo rice." 439
Since so many steamers have begun to go through the Suez 178 ●
Canal, the amount of "white rice" milled in the province has been steadily increasing. Rice of a specially fine quality, with a glaze on the surface, is manufactured for Italy.
Clouds of rice-dust float all over the mill, and settle every- 256

CHAPTER XXIV

A GRACIOUS PLOUGHING

LIKE the "royal elder brother" of China, the king of Burma 101
ought to go out once a year to plough the fields. Thibaw 241
Min did not do it during the first two years of his reign, 643
and, as far as I am aware, was equally heedless throughout 796
the later years also. The consequences ought to have been 178
disastrous. According to tradition, the failure of the Lètwin
mingala to come off should have caused a drought all over
the country. But the Mo hkaung did not ensue; on the
contrary, there was Mo kaung: an aspirate makes all the
difference between a water-famine and seasonable showers.
King Thibaw went very little indeed out of his palace.
The annals of the country supply too many instances of
kings, who, having gone abroad, found on their return to
the palace gates that a usurper had taken possession of the
throne in the meantime, and had no better greeting for his
predecessor than a short shrift and a red velvet sack in
which to plunge his body into the Irrawaddy. This unlovable
custom had great weight with King Thibaw; but it
was unwise of him to entirely abandon so venerable a
tradition as the Lètwin mingala. It was at this ceremonial 773
that one of the earliest marvels in the life of the Buddha
Gautama happened. The king Thudawdana, with eight
hundred noblemen save one, was ploughing the fields at the
annual festival. Many country people came to see the great
sight, and the city emptied itself. The maids who had
charge of the little Prince Theidat laid him down under
the shade of a tree and went to look on. The infant
Buddha rose up as soon as they were gone, and sitting

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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They therefore remain on the defensive. There are also pieces called pau—bombardiers or rocket-men—with curious powers. They can move the whole length of the board, in the fashion of the castle. If an adversary's piece intervenes, they can take the pawn or piece immediately behind it, but cannot kill direct. Students of the Persian game will be reminded of the power of their elephant. It will be seen from this cursory description that the Burmans can hardly owe their game to the Chinese. Shin Gautama sent us Buddhism from "the Middle Country";[1] it is possible that the game of chess came from India also. ● [178] But if so, while Burmese Buddhism has hardly changed at all, and remains much more like the original teachings of the Master than the faiths of Ceylon, Nepaul, and Thibet, the game of chess has been greatly altered, and I think I may venture to say vastly improved.

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[1] Myizimadetha, not the "Middle Kingdom" of the Chinese.

651 lists were filled up, no matter whether it was an ubone,
525 or a more sacred feast, and, as a consequence, the minds
446 of the people were kept in a state of perpetual unhealthy
excitement.

651 Neither buyers nor sellers were to be seen in the bazaar.
525 Cultivators sold off their farming stock and implements, and
178 launched all their money into the state lotteries. Fathers
[562] sold their daughters, and husbands their wives, to have a
final try for fortune, until the lottery managers issued a notice that they would give no more tickets in exchange for women. To fill up the totals faster, and draw in every available coin, twenty, or even more, people were allowed to club together to buy a single ticket. Business was entirely suspended, and all the people hovered about the lottery-offices, longing for the drawing, while cleaned-out speculators prowled about day and night, watching for an opportunity to thieve and rob. How it was that the plundered people did not rise against the government, or at least against the lottery managers, is a mystery, but they did not. The suburbs of Mandalay were filled for a time with ruined gamblers, until the soldiery were employed to drive them farther afield, when many made their way to the frontier, and recouped themselves by raids on British Burma villages. Eventually money failed, or the people were disillusionised, and the lottery-offices, though several remained open, drove but a very slight
651 trade. Then Thibaw Min had to resort to other measures
655 to meet his expenditure, and from July 1881 began disposing of monopolies right and left. Having finished the export monopolies, he commenced with those on imports. The British trade with Upper Burma was being steadily ruined, and the war which ended in the extinction of the kingdom of Burma was made inevitable.

to hold his land free from taxes for such a period as may be necessary to bring it into a thorough state of cultivation. In such a case as this he has to apply to the thugyi—the old hereditary officers being retained throughout British Burma —of his circle, if the land does not exceed five acres in extent. If it is above that area, application has to be made to the English Assistant-commissioner, or to the Deputy-commissioner in charge of the district, if the average of the new claim exceeds fifty. The land is then surveyed and a grant is drawn up specifying the term of years during which he shall be free from imposts. This varies according to the kind of jungle which is to be cleared away, and the kind of crops intended to be grown. The exemption is in no case for less than a year. If rice is to be grown, seven years is the longest term of rent-free tenure, but for orchard cultivation it extends to twelve years. In a few cases, where the nature of the ground necessitates, in addition to clearing away the forest growth, the digging of channels for irrigation, and the erection of dams, extension even of this long period is granted. As in France, Norway, Japan, and Switzerland, the farms are all very small, in some cases almost absurdly so. Along the old frontier the holdings averaged only about five acres, in the Rangoon district from sixteen to twenty acres is the ordinary size, but here and there are a few considerably larger. It would, however, be a great mistake to endeavour to introduce larger tenancies. It is entirely against the genius of the people, and the appearance of foreign capitalists could not be otherwise than disastrous. The present mode of cultivation is slovenly enough, and larger farms would most certainly not tend to remedy the defect, which is due in great part to the superabundance of available arable land lying waste. Burma is progressing fast enough as it is. The abundance of rich land, the facility with which rights over it can be acquired, the great demand for rice, and the ever-increasing counter demand for European goods, the fixed, though heavy taxation, the cessation of all irregular and unexpected collections, the absolute personal security enjoyed by all under the English administration: all these benefits have resulted in the trebling of the population of Lower Burma during twenty-six years since the annexation of Pegu;

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[622]

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

● 178
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642

in the more than trebling of the trade—the value of the sea-borne merchandise alone having doubled and reached twelve and a half millions sterling during the ten years previous to 1881—and in the wonderful increase in revenue, which makes Burma the most valuable of all the provinces under the Indian Government. Now that all Burma is one province the increase of revenue and the contribution paid to the Imperial Government; have gone on increasing with a regularity which is almost automatic.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LVIII

MANDALAY AND RANGOON

[This chapter describes these towns as they were in 1881.]

AMERICANS talk, and with good reason, of the magic growth of their cities. But for mere mushroom growth, Mandalay might compare even with Chicago itself, and if we are to judge of the progress of a commercial place by the fair criterion of business results, Rangoon may hold up its head in confident rivalry with any of the typical American cities. In the middle of last century the site of Mandalay was swampy paddy land and rank jungle. Now an area of five square miles is covered with houses, many of them squalid enough certainly, and with large patches of unused land round about them, but none the less contained within the city limits. Rangoon came into British hands in 1852, and at that time possessed no commerce worthy of the name, indeed it was only known as the place for pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda to stay at, and the residence of the Regent of Pegu, as being the guard station on the most accessible mouth of the Irrawaddy. Ten years later, ships entered or cleared from the port having a tonnage of 295,000 tons, and the imports were worth £1,200,000, the exports £1,400,000, and since that date—a year or two after Mandalay had been founded—the tonnage has increased to 1,000,000, the value of the imports to £5,000,000 sterling, and the exports to £4,000,000. In a quarter of a century the commerce of British Burma rose to nearly £20,000,000 sterling. The population has quadrupled; public works are carried on; education is widely disseminated; the administration is carefully managed by British officials; a railway,

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[161]
[871]
[497]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Chinese)AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 178 [497] [206] [452] 163 miles long, has been made; there are 1300 miles of telegraph lines; stately law courts and other public buildings have sprung up, and so far from the work being a tax on the Indian Imperial Treasury, British Burma has been, after its first few years, more than self-supporting. For a considerable time it has contributed to the Imperial Treasury a clear surplus of a million sterling. The mere figures are in themselves surprising, but they cannot be truly appreciated unless they are read alongside the obvious, undeniable, and acknowledged prosperity and contentment of the native population. Since the annexation of Upper Burma these figures have been roughly multiplied by ten, and there is a steady yearly increase which would be greater if Burma were allowed to make use of her yearly surpluses.

Be 361 As long as there was a king of Burma, Mandalay was a larger town than Rangoon and an infinitely more picturesque one. It still remains by a long way the second town in Burma, but Rangoon has over-passed it in population. While Rangoon has gained, Mandalay has lost, but there seems no reason why it should go on declining.

The mushroom growth of Mandalay was entirely due to an autocratic order, but the number of ancient capitals in the neighbourhood shows that the position is an advantageous one. The astrologers and the king settled the new site between them, and when this was arranged a royal order came out bidding all remove themselves from Amarapura to Mandalay on pain of death in case of refusal. The transference of a bamboo hut is certainly no very great undertaking, and occupies less than a week in the pulling down and setting up. But the hardship was none the less where the people had gardens, or fruit-trees growing in their yards. Ga [513] [341] The Chinese alone remained firm. Their houses were of the usual substantial, heavy, Celestial architecture, and, moreover, they had built for themselves an elaborate joss-house, in splendour quite equal to the best in Rangoon. Consequently, they flatly refused to migrate the two or three miles distance to the new capital. The astrologers were as usual for using force, but Mindôn Min had more sense. The Chinamen were almost all British subjects, and moreover their dealings contributed substantially to the revenue. Their

of the funeral paraphernalia takes some time, and it is now- 764
adays almost a matter of ceremonial necessity that all
children and blood relations should assemble for the burial.
Technically, if the death occurred on the last day of the month
the funeral ceremonies should take place before midnight,
certainly before the new moon appears. This rule, however,
is far from being strictly observed nowadays. A poor man [565]
is buried as quickly as possible to save expense; a rich
man's obsequies last according to the pride of his family and
their inclination to spend money. The coffin, called hkaung,
is usually covered with tinsel paper, or perhaps gilt. The
talā, the bier, is shaded by a light canopy, or spire made of
bamboo, and carried by means of four long bamboo poles.
This pya-that is usually most gaily decorated with coloured
pasteboard, tinsel, and paintings of different kinds, and
looks strangely bright and theatrical to Europeans. It is
carpentered and decorated in the street before the house, for
it is from eight or ten to twenty or thirty feet in height, and
often overtops all the houses in the quarter.

When the day fixed for the funeral arrives the yahans [793]
are invited to the house. They usually come in numbers
proportioned to the amount of alms given. There is ordi-
narily an address in the house, dwelling mainly on the vanity
of human wishes and the uncertainty and misery of life on
earth. Then the coffin is brought out and placed on the 764
platform made for it in the lower part of the pya-that. 565
Over it is then thrown a paso if the deceased was a man, or 178●
a tamein or neckerchief if a woman. This usually conceals
the coffin, unless it is richly gilt, or painted, as is sometimes
the case, with figures of the nobler of the animals, such as
lions, tigers, monkeys, and elephants. Then the distinctive
garment is looped up so that all may see. Over this cloth
are usually placed short sticks wrapped round with gold
and silver paper, shwe bidôn and ngwe bidôn which were
forbidden in Mandalay except to the officials. Equally
contrary to the Yazagaing are the sanda ya-mya, two long
streamers which come down from the top of the spire and
are taken in the hands of as many of the personal friends
as can get hold of them. The musket shots which are fired
often during the processions would have entailed especially

764 heavy punishment under Burman rule. Latterly some
525 laymen in Rangoon have even been bold enough to glorify the
178 funerals of their relatives with keinnaya, figures of men or
women with bird-like feet and lower extremities. These
spangled toys, which are commonly to be seen in all
monasteries, are properly only used at the last ceremonies
of a member of the sacred order. But when some men are
bold enough even to flaunt the royal white umbrella, it is
hardly to be expected that the distinctive honours of the
yahans would be respected.

764 The procession having been formed, a start is made.
[735] At the head come the alms intended for the monks and for
the poor, some carried by men, some by women, the sexes
going in separate lines. After this come the pyin-sin, never
in any very great numbers, unless the a-hlu be particularly
bountiful. Following them comes the band, and often a troop
of singers. These are always hired for the purpose, and their
callousness is as little to be cast up against Burman natural
affection as the unlovable doings of the mutes at an English
funeral. Close upon the musicians comes the bier carried
by six or eight young men. Then in a general crowd follow
the relations, friends, and neighbours, all on foot. Many
passers-by, total strangers, join in the procession from motives
of piety. Here and there the men carrying the bier stop
and dance in a curious fantastic way to the measures of
[533] the dirge of the singers. The funeral *misereres* are usually
the composition of an improvisatore in the chorus, and deal
with the life and death and good actions of the deceased.
A measure called maung pyaung is the most generally used.

Occasionally there is a tug-of-war with a rope as at a pôngyi's funeral, one side exclaiming, "We must bury our dead"; the other, "You shall not take away my friend." As a matter of necessity the former party must conquer, but they sometimes have to get recruits from the crowd before they can manage it.

764 It is a matter of regulation that a funeral should never
823 go to the north or to the east. The graveyard is usually to
the west of the village, and the dead should all be carried
out of a walled town by a gate reserved for this purpose.
In Mandalay this a-mingala tagā was that to the south-west,

764 [564] a handful of earth the grave-diggers fill up the grave. These sandalās are outcasts, the name being probably derived from the Sanskrit term for the lowest caste of the Hindoos. It is considered a mark of respect to wait till the grave is filled in, and when this is over, there is some conversation in the zayat over the refreshments, and then all make their way home. The pya-that, bamboos, and other paraphernalia are the perquisites of the sandalās, and they usually get all the alms intended for the poor, though at a great funeral there is often much competition for the pasos, turbans, and pieces of muslin given away in alms. It is to be observed that there is no tombstone put up; nothing to mark for future years where the grave was.

764 ● 178 Though burial is becoming common with all classes, the old method of cremation still prevails extensively in the jungle districts, and was invariable in Independent Burma when the deceased had attained considerable age. When the body is to be burned, mithingyothi, it is not necessary that the coffin lid should be fastened down, and sometimes there is no lid at all. The preparations and procession are identical with that for burial. The pyre is composed of billets of wood, laid two and two at right angles to each other, quantities of sweet-smelling woods being placed in the intervals. A few billets are placed above the coffin as well as below, and at the bottom of the funeral pile is usually an iron trough into which any unconsumed bones may fall. The pyre is kindled at various points by the nearest relations, and the sandalās stay by to see that it burns freely, and that all is consumed. When the fire has burnt out, two or three of the nearest of kin come and search about among the ashes for the bones. These are washed clean with cocoanut milk, and in the case of great people in Lower Burma of late years, often with lavender water, eau de cologne, or any of Atkinson's or Piesse and Lubin's scents. They are then wrapped up in clean white cloths, and placed in a newly made earthenware pot, which is not uncommonly gilt, or covered with pictures of sacred events taken from the birth stories. This is then taken back to the house temporarily.

For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning

764 778 mould the paste into a small image of the Lord Buddha, which they set up in an honoured place in their houses, and make use of as the object of their morning and evening doxologies. Such images are called tha-yo.

764 525 ● [178] Nowadays money and public estimation alone determine the character of the funeral; but formerly in Mandalay, apart from the ceremonial provided for a pôngyi byan, there were five kinds suitable for a layman—one for the sovereign; then for members of the royal family; thirdly, for nobles, and those who had received official rank, a rather precarious and dangerous possession; then for thuté, rich men—so designated by special patent, which placed them under the "protection" of the court, that is to say, made them accessible for the demand of "benevolences"; and finally, a funeral for ordinary people. The burials of the poor in Mandalay were gruesome spectacles. The body was carried to the graveyard in a big, roomy box, grown rickety with much use, or, more simply still, in a mat. The sandalās had dug a hole, little more than three feet deep. If it was not long enough the body was squeezed in without any regard for relatives feelings. Enough earth to cover it slightly was thrown on by the grave-diggers, and the howls and fights of the pariah dogs at night suggested how it was that epidemics did not arise.

In the case of the funeral, say of an Atwinwun's wife, the coffin might be gilt, with a web of white cotton cloth fastened at the head—velvet was only permissible for a person of royal blood; the bamboos composing the bier were covered with red cloth; the pasos, tameins, and so on, given in alms, were carried on long poles, each pole borne by two men. In the procession the insignia of the wun, his umbrellas, fans, kamauk, and the rest were carried in front; after the alms and yahans came a dozen or more young women, carrying the court dress and decorations of the deceased, then her state carriage and that of her husband, hers being usually a palanquin. The billets of wood on the funeral pyre were gilt. These honours were so greatly valued that not a single privilege would be omitted, though the husband had to borrow money for every single item. Indeed, were he to have omitted any of them, he might

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As for the classical cycle of keys, diagrams of which appeared both in ~~U~~ Ba Choe's article and U San Win's book 2, both U Ba Choe and U San Win quote authoritative verses from classical literature (*Natakaratanakosa* နာဋကရတနာကောသကျမ်း) but regret that not all the keys mentioned are in use in this decadent age. With due reverence for the classics I shall assign these verses like Ruskin's works on art and Pater's, to literature. It is becoming increasingly difficult to fit ~~classical~~ theory with the actual music. Whereas our classical literature came *en masse* from ancient India along with Buddhism many hundred years ago our music seems to have come from the east. Indeed one class of songs *yodaya* ယိုးဒယား came *en masse* from Siam less than two centuries ago. Music is the last thing that could have come with Buddhism. It seems to have developed quite independently of classical literature. In fact Burmese poetry *linga* လင်္ကာ *alankara*) is quite distinct from Burmese song (*thachin* သချင်း) and from both stands massive and remote the Buddhist literature of the *tripitaka* in the Pali language. 533 178 101 [779] [538]

What seems to have happened is that while the elegant royalty and courtesans in the palace were delighting in the intricacies of Burmese versification with liberal infusion of both the Pali language and the Buddhist philosophy, music in its robust form was having its origins in animistic ritual (နတ်ပွဲ), in the village when somebody was giving alms and in the paddy-fields when the transplanting of the seedlings were in progress. For the former we have *Byaw*[1] (ဗြော) stick-struck drum songs, and for the latter we have *Bonshay* (ဗုံရှည်) long-drum or *kauksaik* (ကောက်စိုက်) transplanting songs. *Kyoh* (ကြိုး) that most ancient class of Burmese songs also must have been in the beginning a labour chant for concerted action that germinated in ancient row boats, grew into a boat-song, and then developed for royal ears into its present high order of melodic and literary grandeur (*vide* the royal barge songs: လောင်းဆိုက်ကြိုး when the barge makes port, လောင်းငင်ကြိုး when the barge is being towed out by rowers in open boats, လောင်းလှော်ကြိုး when the barge is underway [2]. The cadences of these still recall the rhythmic flash of wet oars in the sun. Thus Burmese music had as its sponsor the rustic festivals and the occupation of the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and not the Church as 533 178

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[1] ကချေဘဝငှက်ပျောပွဲနှင့်ဗြောသံက 'A dancer's life (or dancing) begins with a tray of banana offerings (or *pwé* marked by a central fire-bowl stand of plantain trunk) in a *byaw* music party. Till 1698 A. D. when the 8th king of the Nyaungyan dynasty စနေမင်း *Sané Min* came to the throne there existed only intoned poems [illegible] [illegible] but no real Burmese music. [illegible] by U Nu. Sun Magazine, 1938.

[2] U Ba Choe told me that this was not true. This class of songs used to be played as exercises in the playing of the Burmese harp, when the pupil first learns to pluck simultaneously certain strings (ကြိုး *Kyoh*). For a full explanation of it see [illegible] by U San Win.

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533 in Europe. Indeed the Buddhist religion so frowns upon music
●178 that it was practised rather shamefacedly and its devotees are often
[179] called *Phet-khwet-sa* (Eaters out of leaves), *i.e.* vagabonds. Even so recently as last year a learned old Burmese gentleman loth to depart this life without imparting all of his Burmese learning concluded a series of Burmese articles on Burmese music and dancing with an apology for having at all indulged in such frivolities.

533 Music found in the irrepressible gaiety of the Burmese people
181 a fertile soil and it let its roots deep into the soil, and soon from
178 occupational songs music developed into an art-form which finally
565 invaded the towns, the capital and the royal palace. There it
177 received fresh impetus from a system of competitive patronage in which the king himself joined with his own band. There also, apparently it received its classical nomenclature. Names which sound imposing enough—သရ မုစ္ဆနာ ဂါမ သုတိ etc. *Svara*, *Mūrchana*, *Grāma*, *Çruti* etc.—but meant for quite different things, must have been borrowed in their entirety for the sake of their classical origin, so that the names were not in accordance with what they stood for, even as the Greek names, by which the western ecclesiastical modes were distinguished, were not in accordance with those of the ancient Greek octave system from which the names were taken. Thus it seems Burmese musical theory in the classical manner is a grafted dignity which dignifies but does not apply. Indeed it seems yet to be written.

533 However, to go on with Mariano: "Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (mordente, acciaccatura, appoggiatura) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes.". This is very true, but not true enough. Ornament in Burmese music does something more than preponderate. They themselves are an inherent part of the tunes. That is why when a Burmese song is taken down by a western musican and reproduced, the ornaments having been unappreciated and eschewed the 'tune' that remains no longer sounds Burmese. Fox Strangways explains succinctly:

> "We think of grace-notes as something which may but need not be added to the note, not as something actually inherent in it. If cultivated for their own sake or used at all in excess they are regarded by us as meretricious......Indian 'grace' is different in kind. There never is the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced. The note with the grace makes one utterance. The object of grace is, of course, to add importance to the particular note, but there are such varying degrees in which this may be done

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> that the whole system of *ganak*, the general term for the thing becomes an elaborate vehicle of light and shade. It brings the notes of a melody, as surely as the various light and shade of a picture brings the contours of the face, from the flat into the round; which again is precisely what harmony does for them, by assigning to the successive notes varying degrees of consonance. There is an obvious reason for grace-notes wherever there is no harmony. For a melody is a sentence with important words and unimportant, and grace-notes and harmonic texture are the only two things that can always be applied to enhance this importance. For stress and quantity, which serve this purpose in verse, are not so well adapted to music. Stress, which is additional volume, is difficult to achieve with low notes; and quantity, which is additional duration, alters the melody itself, imposing ~~on it~~ from without something which should come from within." 533

Although Burmese 'grace' may not be so elaborate or systematised as the Indian *gamak*, much of the above quotation equally applies to Burmese music. Much will have to be pointed out in notation when I deal with the problem of the 'writing' of Burmese music[1]. Mr. Mariano concluded: "It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past." 533 101

He wrote that 40 years ago. Nowadays, the gramophone record business has encouraged wholesale filching of jazz tunes, first divested of harmony and then re-dressed in an imitation of it, with Burmese words making ungainly efforts to step along side by side with the wholly unsuitable western tunes. Shades of Mariano! 533 178

It is a matter for rejoicing that a state school of fine-arts has come into being. How much more rejoicing there would be in the hearts of lovers of true Burmese music if the government, instead of merely opening a class for teaching how to play certain musical instruments, had seized upon the means of saving real Burmese music from oblivion. [207] The implacability of business so far as gramophone records are concerned, [286] the rapid deterioration of public taste pandered to by radio and gramophone, the invasion

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[1] A full treatment of Burmese grace with classified examples in staff-notation will require a separate chapter in the manner of the chapter on Ornamentation in Arnold Dolmetsch's *Interpretation of the music of 17th and 18th centuries*. For the present see specimens in the complete violin part of *Baw-lè*.

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533 178 of western instruments and instrumentation, the ephemeral catchiness of jazz tunes—who, but the government can save Burmese music from the combined assault of these powerful forces?

533 185 True Burmese music nowadays resides only in the memory of old Burmese musicians. And they are now too old. Their music should be recorded. They should be organised into a state orchestra and paid to broadcast selections from the classics at least twice a week. Their instruments should be measured and a standard pitch and a standard scale should be fixed and one complete set of Burmese musical instruments should be maintained and kept correctly in tune for purposes of research. The notation of the authentic ground patterns of Burmese classical songs should be undertaken. As an urgent preliminary measure U San Win should be subsidised to carry out his notation of the classics in his own style so that important classical tunes may be preserved for future more scientific notation and instrumentation. Above all, organised research into the theory of Burmese music should be instituted at once with suitable equipment and aid[1].

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[1] I am glad to add that the Government has responded generously to the application of the Burma Research Society for a grant towards the recording of a representative selection of Burmese classical songs, verse-forms, and drum music, for the gramophone. U Ba Choe labouring mightily, twenty-three recordings have just been completed at a total cost of Rs. 6,250. A further grant has just been made by the Government to enable the Burma Research Society to send me on an errand collecting Burmese folksongs, if the University Authorities will sanction me leave. There is much yet to be done.

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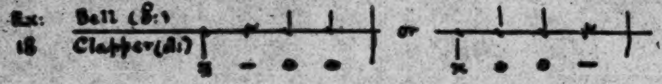
533 Thus: 

No great importance is attached to the variation. In one and the same piece of music the quadruple may sometimes change into the duple, or become faster or slower in accordance with the needs of the particular piece of music. But never must a musican get out of rhythmic time[1].

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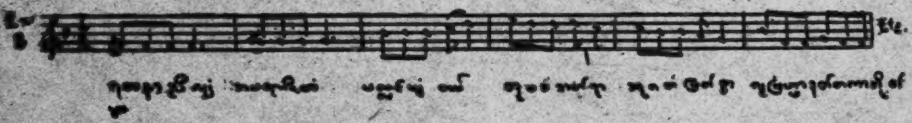
[178] So far as I am aware compound time does not seem to be used at all in music, though I detect signs of it in the congregational chanting of certain quasi-religious verses which used to be the rage among young Burmese ladies when Myawadi Phongyi was at the height of his singular career about 18 years ago.



I give in example 8 what I can remember of the verses I used to chant as the only boy among a sort of choir of young ladies. This particular verse pays homage to Buddha. But young ladies used to pay homage to his reverence too, kneeling down and singing his praise and wishing him long-life etc. Had I not been a sort of pitch-pipe I would have been as little tolerated in that beauty chorus as a bee in a bouquet.

533 Example 11 (ဘောလယ် *Baw-lè*) illustrates how the vocal part weaves in and out of (ဖေါင်းဝေ့ထွက်) the instrumental part. Having no regular system of harmony or counterpoint the instrumental accompaniment to Burmese songs means something entirely different from what it means in the west. The instrument accompanies the voice with variations of the same tune liberally embellished. After each section the instrument plays a bar of interlude (အဖေလာ) either to emphasise the close by repetition, or to link it with the next section. In Example 11, so far as the voice is concerned, the section ends with its last note (the tonic in bar 9). But the instrument postpones this final tonic for yet another bar playing the interlude which too ends on that tonic.

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[1] He is not *dead* in time like players of dance music. He keeps in time because he *feels* in time. One thinks of *Tempo Rubato*, but for its implication of virtuosity.

II

MAKING A LIVING

Occupations

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The occupational pattern in Tadagale is a highly diversified one. There are thirty-eight principal gainful occupations in which a total of 341 individuals are engaged. A large proportion of these people have secondary and even tertiary pursuits at which they spend part of their time in order to round out a living. The following table shows the outstanding principal occupations in order of frequency.

Table II

Principal Occupations of Villagers

Occupation	No.
Gardener	52
Bus operator (driver, spare)	44
Paddy cultivator	43
Field laborer	38
Dairy farmer	26
Prepared foods seller	20
Urban laborer	19
Trader (middleman)	17
Shopkeeper	15

Some of the other principal occupations, of lesser frequency, are carpenter, fishermen, casual laborer, cowherd, woodcutter, and seamstress.

1. Gardening. The leading mode of making a living is truck gardening. The gardens are located on small patches of ground adjoining dwellings, and range in size from tiny plots up to perhaps 3000 square feet. They are cultivated intensively, four crops a year being usual, and six crops not unknown. The crops include gourds, cucumbers, mustard, cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce, radishes and spinach. 244

For all households, the garden supplies the family with the many vegetables that form an indispensable part of the various Burmese curries. Many gardens produce a surplus which is sold in nearby town bazaars or in the larger markets of Rangoon. The trend has been for gardening to become increasingly important as a source of income in recent years, particularly during the period of disturbed conditions in Burma. These conditions have seriously impeded the normal flow of fresh vegetables and fruits to Rangoon from more distant points; thus the people of Tadagale have been provided with an opportunity to secure high prices for almost all the vegetables they can supply.

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244 Garden cultivation is quite simple. Hand tools, such as steel mattocks, rakes and hoes, which are obtained from Rangoon, are employed to prepare the soil. Cattle or water buffalo excrement is mixed with water to a thin consistency and poured from bamboo-spouted metal buckets over the ground. (The use of human excrement as a fertilizer, common in China and Japan, is not practiced in Burma.) During the monsoon season there is, of course, no problem of irrigation, but during the hot and dry seasons the gardens must be watered frequently. This task is often performed by young boys, who draw water from the wells and apply it to the gardens. The work of picking the matured crops and preparing them for transport to market is commonly done by female members of the household.

243 2. Paddy Cultivation. The principal occupation of forty-three persons is cultivation of paddy. This category is here defined to include individuals who own or rent land on which they cultivate paddy, as distinct from persons who work on a wage basis in the paddy cultivation of others. The latter are referred to in this report as field laborers.

243 162 427 178 Of the thirty-four paddy land holdings on which we have data, twenty-nine are rented and five are owned by the cultivators. All but one of these holdings is under twenty acres. This high ratio of renters to owners, as well as the small number of paddy cultivators relative to the total number of gainfully occupied villagers, is reflective of long-run trends in agriculture in this general area. Rural tenancy has been the outcome, in Lower Burma, of a long period of loss of land ownership to moneylenders, largely absentee, through inability of the cultivators to repay loans taken out at very high rates of interest. As tenancy has grown apace, individual cultivators have become discouraged with their small return for hard work. Accordingly, many have given up paddy cultivation altogether in favor of less arduous and relatively more rewarding occupations. However, this trend may be reversed, for there began in early 1951 actual implementation of the Land Nationalization Act of 1948, which provides for distribution of agricultural land to the cultivators on an individual ownership basis.

243 434 For the great majority of the paddy cultivators of Tadagale it is possible to eke out little more than subsistence from season to season. A few, after paying their hired labor, putting aside seed for the next year's planting, and filling the granary for home use, can realize some cash income by the sale of a small surplus of paddy. If the cultivator with a little surplus can possibly afford it, he holds the paddy until the hot season, when the market price is highest.

243 433 The average yield per acre in Tadagale, based on data for thirty cultivators for the harvest season 1948-49, is 19.8 bushels of paddy. This compares closely with the overall average figures for Burma. According to the Yearbook of Food and Agriculture for 1949 (U.N.-F.A.O.) the average yield per acre for Burma was 20 bushels.

243 437 In late March, the paddy fields of Tadagale are burned over, depositing an ash from any stubble remaining from the previous harvest. Sometime after the New Year celebration (which begins about April 13th and continues several days) the cultivators spread manure over their fields in preparation for the coming planting season. The manure is obtained from the Indian dairy farmers of the village in exchange for paddy stalk.

One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles 252
are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha.

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molesaun. It is made of 272
sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing.

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village 414
consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small.

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban
laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are 464
unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies 369
in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These
people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus.

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations 463
followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening.

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. 463
Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as
circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated 178
that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing
to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for
other occupations.

Income

In analysing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have 434
been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous
group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within [563]
this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea
of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the
Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village.

The following tables show family incomes.

565 basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the
556 socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity,
ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or
consumption.

Economic Change

●178 The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the
101 point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more
upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general
trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale
433 exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent
data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the
village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an
administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles
and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in
the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence
178 economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy
433 coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical
perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of
time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a
detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a
brief consideration of the major trends.

In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called
175 islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants
lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings
433 were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No
incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of house-
361 hold subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese
Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into
cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple
bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart
provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for
the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact
between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle
country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to
recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement
was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other
communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple
utensils, tools and implements.

When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter.
178 Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged
433 to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to
436 commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods
406 imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars.
Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending
Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan
money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter
could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged
were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese
peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

426 matters, and cases occurred in which he unwittingly signed away title to his property, thinking he was only signing 'loan papers.' In some cases, Burmese cultivators, encouraged by moneylenders, borrowed sums greater than actually required for crop financing and used the excess for sponsorship of ceremonial activities, dramatic presentations, purchasing imported goods never before needed, and so on.

178 426 463 The result of this was the tremendous growth of rural indebtedness and much foreclosure by creditors holding mortgages on the land. By the 1930's, about half the cultivated land of Lower Burma was owned by landlords, largely absentee. The once independent Burmese land holder was converted into a rural tenant, or, in many instances, a landless agricultural laborer. Many tenant farmers, dependent upon rent-racking landlords, worked from harvest to harvest with little to show for their efforts beyond perhaps enough of the crop, after payment of rent, hired help, and debts, to feed their families through the planting and growing seasons. Large numbers left agriculture for other pursuits, such as petty clerical jobs in the towns and itinerant trading in imported goods. In Tadagale, for example, in 1949-50 it was possible to record cases of cultivators in such difficult straits that after paying their help and taxes, they did not have enough paddy left for the family granary to last until the next harvest, and were thus in the position of having to purchase in the market, at inflated prices, the very commodity they produced.

178 2. The Shift in Tadagale. The economic shift within the village may be summarized in terms of modes of employment, resources, imports and exports.

[243] [427] a. Employment. Rice agriculture has been decreasing as the land has passed, over time, into the hands of absentee landlords and independent owner-cultivators have become fewer. The tenant farmers are likewise small in numbers.

[294] The manufacture of clothing has also diminished. Formerly, cotton was spun and woven in the village. Now, clothing is very largely obtained by purchase of imported piece goods in Rangoon and having it finished by city tailors and seamstresses.

[249] Oil pressing as an occupation has disappeared. The one remaining presser of oil seeds recently abandoned this work because of the difficulty and high cost of obtaining sesamum seeds from central Burma.

178 463 In a few occupations there seems to have been no notable change. These are carpentry and work in bamboo and thatch, which keep a few people occupied; itinerant selling of prepared foods; shopkeeping; and medical practice (indigenous medicine).

Several occupations are new or increasing in the village. Agricultural wage labor has increased as more people have been unable to secure a living as tenant farmers and have gone to work for others in and near the village. Vegetable gardening, always important because of the nearby Rangoon markets, has become a leading occupation, especially since the beginning of the insurrections in 1948 which reduced the supply of fresh vegetables from the north.

As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

178 463 An increase has occurred in the number of individuals engaged in small-scale middleman trading. Such manufactured items as candles, mats, jewelery, and books are bought in Rangoon and sold increasingly in the village and nearby.

Wage labor of an unskilled sort has increased. Some villagers have found jobs in a warehouse in Rangoon, others in a mental hospital not far from the village. A very small number have become office and clerical workers.

Unemployment is said to be a new development, although these people are only a few.

178 433 b. Resources. Both cultivated land and grazing land resources have declined. The grazing land is very badly eroded, with little grass left. Fishing resources remain steady; the large Pazundaung Creek at the eastern edge of the village yields as many fish as ever.

178 438 c. Imports. There has been a decrease, as indicated earlier, in the amount of Burma-grown cotton that comes into the village for making of clothing. A variety of miscellaneous food items, such as salt, dried chilis, cigars, cooking oil, betel, potatoes, onions, and various spices are obtained from the outside as much as in the past. Increasingly sought beyond the village are building materials, housewares of all types, clothing, and medicine.

d. Exports. The amount of rice sold has declined, while the sale of cooked foods, fresh vegetables, labor and services has increased.

In 1949-50 the villagers of Tadagale felt that their economic lot had worsened over the preceding several years, owing to the aftermath of World War II and the instability prevailing in Burma. The most pressingly felt needs were for land and the curbing of inflationary high prices, and hope was expressed that the plans of the national government in these and other matters might bring some measure of relief.

The orchestra plays as the initiates depart for the adjoining building to 881
change into ordinary clothes, eat their last meal of the day, and bathe. Some
guests now leave; borrowed articles, such as plates, cups and mats are gathered 796
up for return to their owners, and eventually the orchestra departs. 792

The initiates return to the front of the building in which the ceremony
took place. They sit on mats for the shaving of their heads. Two women hold a [302]
long piece of white cloth before them to catch the hair as several men proceed
to wet their heads and shave them clean with straight razors.

Once more the boys leave to bathe, then return and are seated before the chief monk. Their robes held in their hands before them, they recite prayers, give their robes to the monk, and ask him to dress them properly in the monkish garb.

Their robes donned, they squat before the monk and recite additional prayers, [195]
now following very carefully the special intonation appropriate to monks. The
ceremony proper is complete.

The following morning, early, a few relatives and close friends go to the
monastery. The monks, including the novices, are offered food by them. A monk
recites the Five-Fold Path, and then the ceremony of pouring water drop by drop
is performed. Names are given the initiates -- special monastic names which they [551]
will bear only for the duration of their novitiate.

In former times, and still today in the very remote villages of Burma, an 881
initiate might spend many months, possibly several years, in the monkhood.
Sometimes a boy would remain a monk for life. Today in Tadagale, as almost 792
everywhere, initiates spend only a token period of about one week in the monkhood. 178
During this time, they live the austere existence of the order, rising very early,
spending long periods in prayer recitals, and abstaining from food after noon
until the following morning. The short period of life as a novice is strongly
in contrast with the easy-going, carefree childhood days that precede it. Some
boys approach the time of their shinbyu with feelings of trepidation, and all
are glad when the period spent in the monastery is over and they can return to
the much less stern discipline of their parents.

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the village find ample opportunities 584
to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality, in the
company of others at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman 831
are together apart from the company of others, people assume that sex relations
are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as 'getting married.'
Villagers find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on
a purely friendly, non-sexual basis; such behavior is regarded as contrary to
nature. But however much it occurs, unchaperoned association is not approved,
much less encouraged.

Once a pair have decided they want to marry, the boy will inform his 584
parents of his desire. They will already know, in a relatively small village
such as Tadagale, something of the standing of the girl's family and of her
dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest
in a particular girl, they will take steps to acquire this information. They
will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. Sometimes
the approach to the girl's family is made directly; in other instances a female
go-between will be employed. The latter is more likely when the girl's family

to worship. These are the eighth day of the waxing of the moon, full moon day, 796
the eighth day of the waning moon, and a day during the transition to the new moon. The second and fourth of these are considered especially sacred. On these duty days all work in the village ceases and the public school is closed. The people go, usually in family groups, to the monastery. There they say prayers before the images of the Buddha and present gifts to the monks. For a good many, a large portion of the day, after the visit to the monastery, is passed in social visiting and in generally relaxing. For the more devout, usually the elderly people, the duty days are more serious; they abstain from [887]
food and drink after midday until the following sunrise, spending the day in silent meditation and prayer.

Ceremonies

Thingyan, the New Year. Throughout the year a number of the Burmese religious festivals are celebrated in Tadagale. We may begin with the New Year festival, which occurs in April, beginning on or about April 13th, according to the determination made by astrologers.

Traditionally, the New Year festival calls for visiting the pagodas and monasteries and washing the images of the Buddha, after which one calls upon his elders and sprinkles them gently with scented water from a silver bowl. The young men of the village go from house to house, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of an orchestra. At each house they sprinkle water on the elders and ask them to call out the young girls. The girls are likewise sprinkled with water by means of a flower carried in the bowls.

In Tadagale today, many of the traditional customs of the New Year are 796
still observed. Preparatory to the holiday, houses are swept and compounds cleared of all refuse. Everything is made clean and orderly. The images of 178
the Buddha are washed, elders are called upon, sprinkled with water, and wished well. But, as in many parts of the country, the New Year festival has 527
tended to take on a rather secularized character in modern times. Water sprinkling has become water throwing; groups of people, especially youngsters, go into the towns in carts or trucks, armed with buckets of water which they throw at passers-by. The name 'Water Festival' which has been given to the New Year celebration is singularly appropriate, since water-throwing and associated hilarity has overshadowed the sacred significance of the occasion. Some villagers go into Rangoon for the celebration, where everyone engages in dousing everyone he encounters (monks excepted), utilizing every means from buckets to large hoses attached to city water hydrants. These activities are in contrast with the traditionally serious, sacred character of the New Year as conceived by older villagers. The schoolmaster of the community, a middle-aged man with many years of religious training, spoke of the New Year:

> Thingyan is the New Year festival, but the villagers do not know the significance of the festival. They know only that it is a feast day and a holiday and a day for having fun. In reality there should be no frivolity on New Year's day; it is a day on which one should fast and pray, for one is now one year older and therefore nearer death. One should meditate on the futility of frivolity as compared with the blessedness of deeds of merit.

Waso, the Buddhist Lent. In July, on the full moon day of the month of 796
Waso, there begins a sacred period of some three months, corresponding closely 785

quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. 511
Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from 722
lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the 352
refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable 415
level. The Pathwe house gave space far above that actually
used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that
social obligations in Pathwe were much greater than here and [514]
the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a
demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this
space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee 511
camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathwe quarters 178
and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been
able to contract the quantity and quality of their
needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The
pattern of "Home"has not been shattered, but has been contracted
and its quality somewhat changed.

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents 722
early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family 669
are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return 511
home. It seems that the government has offered to send back
those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in
addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting,
or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid
and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and
security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles
down and things return to normal, they would like to return.
They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn [464]
money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - [435]
and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very
high in comparison.

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant 465
that he[1] manifests no anxiety symptoms, and appears happy and carefree. 722
This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with 369
insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous 464
manifestations. The ~~sense of insecurity~~ does not seem to be in his [152]
pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized 511
were:- 178●

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon. 461

2. His income in Rangoon is estabilised at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice). 458

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth. [454]

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[[1] i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

461
777 day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway.
Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

554 The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of
792 ? birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because the
178 are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this
626 attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant
position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally difference
arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the
phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the
gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th
This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging
[468] bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

792 Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves b
556 accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for
money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen
[735] again this property become theirs. Such occurences appear to be rar
and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a
owner would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but
might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

554 The government or administrative class is looked up to with
647 great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part
641 an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager
today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there
is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

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TABLE

Quantity of clothes and personal items on hand and consumed by U Myaing's family in Pathee and camp.*

Item	Consumer	On hand and quantity consumed per year. Pathee	 Camp.
Cotton Longyis	U Myaing	5 or 6	(2 or 3) 4
Silk Longyis	"	(4 or 5) 1	0
Cotton Shirts	"	7 or 8	(1) 2
Vests	"	6 or 7	(1) 2
Burmese jackets	"	(2) .25	0
Headbands	"	3	0
Handkerchiefs	"	12	0
Underwear pants	"	(5) 4	0
Head Towels	"	2	0
Umbrellas	"	(1) .25	0
Bamboo hats (topees)	"	(1) .5	0
Razor, Gillette brand	"	(1)	0
Safety razor blades	"	(12) 15	0
Big razors	"	(1)	Same
Haircuts	"	24	12
Cosmetique for hair, sticks.	"	12	0
Celluloid comb	"	1	0
Slippers, "Air plane" pairs	"	3	0

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*When there are two figures, the amount on hand is placed in parenthesises. If the same item is used in both places the word "same" is used in camp column.

Cloth Table 1.(b)

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[301]

Item	Consumer	Pathwe	Camp.
Sandals, slippers pairs	U Myaing.	3	(1) 3
Wooden clogs, pairs	"	3 or 4	(1) 12
Face towels	"	2	0
Body towels	"	(1) 4	0
Ruby ring	"	(1)	0
Gold ring	"	(1)	0
Gold chain and buttons for fastening shirts	"	(1)	0
Silver cuff links	"	(1)	0
Cotton Tamein	Ma Aye Myaing	10	(4) 8
"	Daw Aw Zar	(3 or 4) 6 or 8	(2) 4
"	Two elder daughters	(10) 15	(6) 18
Jackets	Ma Aye Myaing	(7) 9	(3) 4
"	Daw Aw Zar	6	(2) 3
"	Two elder daughters, each	(4 to 6) 6	(3) 6
Frocks	2 younger daughters, together	(10) 12	(6) 8
Bodices	Ma Aye Myaing	(5) 6	(3) 5
"	Daw Aw Zar	(2) 8	(2) 3.5
Underwear	Two elder daughters, together.	(8) 9.5	(4) 6
Panties	2 younger daughters, together.	(5) 7.5	(4) 6
Slippers, leather, pairs	all females, each	1	0
Sandals, wooden, pairs	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 4	(1) 12
"	The four daughters, each	(1) 4	(1) 12

Cloth Table 1. (c)

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Item	Consumer	Pathwe	Camp
Scarf	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar	2	Same
Gold chain with pendant	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear-plugs with synthetic diamonds	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
"	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear plugs with white stones	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(2)
Gold earrings	2 younger daughters, each	(1)	0
Copper and gold earrings	Youngest daughter	(1)	Same
Silver anklet, pair	2 youngest daughters, together	(2)	Same (1)
Face powder, sticks of sandal wood	All females	(80 to 100) 24	(1) 64
Cuticura brand, talcum powder, tins	Ma Aye Myaing and her children	(2) 12	0
Face powder, sticks of other woods	Daw Aw Zar	3	0
Ivory comb	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
Bamboo comb	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 1.3	(1) 1.3
Silver buttons, set	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Crystal buttons, set	Daw Aw Zar, Ma Aye Myaing and eldest daughter, each	(1)	Same
Green stone buttons, set	Eldest daughter	(1)	Same
Stone slab for making face powder	All females	(3)	(1)
Coconut oil for hair, ticals	All females	(20) 120	"small quantity" "few days"
Parasol	Children	(2) 4	0
Umbrella	Ma Aye Myaing	(1) 1.3	0

Analysis of wearing a parel used by U Myaing's family.

291 Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement
511 were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

178 (1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
722 (3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as men's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognised as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social occasions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the
ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) -
in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex.
The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex.
[562] This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than
the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain
items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate
situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard
[183] might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of
special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry
including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and
shirts).

Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The
[177] rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form
used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of
tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and
set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

The silver button set, however is a sort of windfall, resulting from the family's contact with more opulent urban standards. 291 511

Thirty nine percent of the total complex, 21 items, were used in the two localities. These fell into the categories of: 178 ● 722
(1) items taken from Pathwe, and (2) items secured to replace those used in Pathwe.

Only 6 items or 11% of the complex survived from Pathwe days. These were big razor, scarf, copper and gold earrings, silver anklets, crystal and blue stone button sets. The razor took on the new function of shaving U Myaing in addition to the heads of the children but this was a pre-gillette-razor-stage function.

One item, ladies bamboo combs, was used in exactly the same frequency in both locales. It is easy to understand why this low frequency, cheap and durable object was unaffected by the change in the standard of living. Either the quantity on hand or amount consumed varied in the other cases. In a few instances the camp frequency was higher: the elder daughters used more cotton TAMEINS (though less are kept on hand) - a reflection of their greater social activities as elder children in an urban situation; 2 or 3 times as many wooden sandals are used in camp because: (1) these are the cheapest footwear, and (2) they wear out more rapidly on the Rangoon pavement than on the Pathwe mud-walks. The other items showed marked reduction in quantity, ranging from ⅓ to ½. Qualitatively the reduction is not so easily measured. However, most of the items cost less than in Pathwe. With inflation and an urban market, the qualities must have fallen below those of Pathwe for the most part.

In conclusion: over half of the personal accoutrement complex of Pathwe was discontinued, with the greater sacrifice falling to U Myaing. These items become part of an inactive cultural inventory to be recovered when and if the family again resume their former standard of living.

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for 291
use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the 554
stove and the like. 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2)
festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist 291
of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. 292
The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the
shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi)
waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing.

While walking in the rain the
longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive
dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn
on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYÁ
and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis 291
(orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men 779
(white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days [575]
the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those
belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress.

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both 291
men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi 292
TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently
in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk
PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about
the waist results in GABON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which
protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the
silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is
regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW EINGYI (over
jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the
mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the
women's jacket at the side.

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a 304
solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the 562
hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose 178
was to display manliness and courage since the process of tatooing,
done with a 3-pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful.

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The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattooing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essential and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, and still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

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Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("woman-half") and are recognised by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" looks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is beleived that individuals known as MIN-THE-PON-LAIN-HNEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two [775]

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The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band drapped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a long sleeved EINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforced soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, EINGYIS and carry a PUWA (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from 776
dacoit attacks but does hot extend to modern warfare. When the 178
Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders
of ~~Maung Maung~~ Than's village prayed for nat protection against the
invaders. The nats replied "Dear ~~Villagers we ourselves~~ are wearing [195]
raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon
town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University.
Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the
powers of nats to combat modern evils.

The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each 776
with his province (the home, village, sea, babies) and each exacting 782
tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or
food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the
image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene).
Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most
common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or [759]
other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings
immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of
his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and else-
where, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main sup- [796]
porters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment
of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT 791
KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming
possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for
a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more
rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when
possessed.

Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by 776
accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. 753
If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be 688
afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with 672
blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led 782
by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major
banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats.
Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of

FOOD

Eating Routine

252 512 262 511 Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HMUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns. Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

[722]

> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathwe where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the INS also."

262 178 435 There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathwe, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work 415
directly in front of the fireplace in a squating position, often rest- 252
ing on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are [516]
placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks [352]
on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in [372]
diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu
of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils
given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview
in which photographs of the objects were used.

HTA MIN O (cooking pot); This is an earthenware jar used for
cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular
form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc
knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in
colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with
sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body.
This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are
kept on hand (Pathwe: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each.
This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European
contact period (late 1500's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in [172]
Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in
favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break [178]
Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use
Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other
things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e.
rice) with a big aluminum pot."

HIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as
the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter)
though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-
line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarilly equipped with a
conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used
to cook curry. It was brought from Pathwe, where it was bought at a
cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathwe: several, camp ; 1. [435]

LAPHET-YE-OH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware
and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception
that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The
body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle.
This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

SIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are [323]
moulded by hand with the aid of a paddle, and lack glazing, the
storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed
jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted
necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a
separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-
brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly
glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The
reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last
century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the [172]
Monkine Street section) being preceded by a yellow-black glaze in the
early European period at Syriam.

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one [251]
examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It
came from Pathwe and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathwe several, camp:3. [435]

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathwe: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathwe this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathwe: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; while the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathwe: 1. 243 415

ZAY CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, 1½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathwe: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathwe: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to pail in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178 ●

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follows in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-SAYA (vegetables eaten with NGAPI), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

262 The dishes are briefly described and their contents identified,
435 the amount consumed per unit of time, the source and cost of the food
178 in Pantanaw is compared with the situation in Lewis Road camp. These
figures are reduced to quantity and cost per month in table Page 99.
for ready comparison.

NGA (Fish): In Pantanaw fish was eaten every other day. Ma Aye Myaing cooked the fish in the form of four separate dishes, alternately about once in two days for one dish. Fish was obtained free sometimes, as in THADINGYUT and TAZAUNGMON months, when U Myaing used to work in the INS. The price of fish at that time was about Re. 1/- per viss. The first dish NGA-CHIN-YE.HIN (fish-sour-liguid-curry) is prepared with tamarind or dried marian fruit, water, salt NGAPI water, chillies and onions. The second dish NGA-ACHOUK-CHET (fish-dry-cooked) is fish salted and fried with pounded chillies and onions. The third dish NGA-HSI-BYAN (fish-oily-cooked) is fish mixed with pounded chillies and onions dehydrated. The fourth dish is fish cooked with vegetables after being mixed with pounded chillies and onions and water, salt, NGAPI water and some oil are added. Fish is also sometimes used in preparing NGA-HSAN-BYOKE (fish boiled in rice) but a lesser amount (25 ticals) is needed than in the case of the other four dishes, where 50 ticals of fish are needed. Rice boiled with fish is eaten sometimes for several days in succession and sometimes about only once in two weeks in Pathwe. In the refugee camp fish is eaten only about four times a month when 12½ ticals are consumed at one eating. The fish are bought in MYENIGON market at Rs. 3/-per viss.

PAZUN (prawns): Prawns are prepared in two ways. The first dish which is called PAZUN HSI HMAY or "prawns stirred in oil" dish is prepared by first skinning the prawns, mixing with salt, adding sliced onions, some oil and NGAPI water or NGA-PYAR-YE (fish juice) and frying. In the second dish, the prawns are skinned, and peeled potatoes, water, some oil, onions, NGAPI water and some vegetable like HMYIT (bamboo shoots) or CHIN BAUNG (Roseeary) are added. Thirty ticals of prawns were consumed at one meal - fifty ticals for both meals of the day. Prawns were eaten once every two or three days at Pantanaw, where they were bought at the rate of 12 annas or a rupee per viss, and sometimes obtained free from searching the INS. In camp the amount consumed is 15 ticals, and this dish is eaten almost every other day. Prawns are bought in MYENIGON market at Rs. 2/8 per viss.

KALA-PE (Indian-dhall):(Dhall: Gram, Cicera stictinum, Linn.) KALA PE are small yellow peas. Some of them have reddish brown skins. They are prepared in two ways by Ma Aye Myaing. One method is by preparing them in water B HIN (dhall-curry). The dhall is boiled and pounded: sliced onions, fish juice and sesamum oil are added, additional water is poured in, and the mixture is placed on the fire. The other dish KALA PE GYAW (Dhall fried) is prepared by boiling and pounding dhall and then frying it in oil which has first been placed on fire and cured with sliced onion. Twenty five ticals of dhall at a rupee per viss are consumed at one meal, and dhall was eaten once every six or seven days in Pantanaw. In the camp 25 ticals at Rs. 1/8 per viss are consumed at every meal, and dhall is eaten here sometimes daily, sometimes once in two days.

KYET (chicken): Chicken is prepared by Ma Aye Myaing in either one of three ways. In the first dish "chicken with water", the chicken is cooked with chillies, onions, oil water and fish juice. This is prepared about twice in every eight times chicken curry is cooked. In the second dish KYET-THA-HSI-BYAN (chicken-flesh-oily cooked) or chicken cooked with oil, the same ingredients are used as above with the sole difference that very little water is poured in. This is a preferred manner of cooking and is eaten about six times out of every eight times chicken curry is prepared. The third dish KYET-THA-HSAN-BYOKE (chicken-flesh-rice-boiled) or chicken boiled with rice, is very seldom eaten - only about twice a year. In Pantanaw they used to have

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a whole fowl weighing about 50 to 60 ticals for every meal with chicken. These fowls were bred at home, but were sometimes bought at Rs. 1/8 per viss. They used to have chicken curry three or four times a month, two meals every day that they ate chicken back in Pantanaw, whereas they have not had this dish even once in the past two years.

BE (duck): Duck can be prepared in the same way as the three dishes for chicken i.e. with water (eaten twice in every eight times duck curry is used), with oil (eaten about six times in eight times duck curry is used), and boiled in rice (eaten only about twice a year.) Roast duck is also very seldom eaten i.e. only about twice a year. In Pantanaw duck curry was eaten during eight meals a month. Fifty ticals were consumed at each meal. The ducks were bred at home, but were sometimes purchased for Rs. 2/- per viss. They have not had a single meal with duck curry in the pasttwo years.

AME-THA (beef): Beef is cooked by Ma Aye Myaing only in one way - as AME-THA-HSI-BYAN or beef cooked in oil. This was eaten for about eight meals in the month. At each meal the family consumed 50 ticals at a rupee per viss. They have not had beef for the past two years.

WET-THA (pork): Pork is cooked in two ways - with water and with oil. These dishes are cooked according to the same recipe as for chicken with water and chicken with oil. Pork cooked in water is eaten four times while pork with oil is eaten six times, in every ten times that the family has pork for meals. Back in Pantanaw they ate pork during ten meals a month, consuming in one month 25 ticals at Rs. 2/8 per viss when bought in the village. In the camp pork is eaten about twice a month. 25 ticals at Rs. 4/- per viss are consumed in one meal. In addition to the other two dishes, pork can also be eaten in the form of soup made out of pig's head (pig's head weighs about 3 to 4 viss) or pig's trotter (including a lot of flesh from the shoulder, weighs 60 to 70 ticals), WET-GAUNG-HSU-BYOKE (pig-head-soup-boiled) or WET-CHE-DAUK-HSU-BYOKE (pig-trotters-soup-boiled) as a supplementary dish. This was cooked only back in Pathwe village where people used to kill pigs for sale. In the two years that U Myaing's family have been in the refugee camp they have not had a single meal of pork soup, whereas they were used to having it four or five times a month. A head cost a rupee, and each trotter cost two or three annas. One head is large enough to provide three or four families enough soup for two meals when shared. The other alternative is to have one trotter for each meal.

BE-U (duck's eggs): These were eaten three or four times a month back in Pantanaw, and is another food which the family has not had for the past two years. Eggs cost a rupee a dozen and five eggs were consumed at each meal. They were eaten in three forms BE-U-GYAW (fried) BE U BYOKE (boiled), and BE U BYOKE HIN (cooked with water). Boiled eggs are eaten very seldom, i.e. not even once a month. For ducks' eggs cooked with water, the recipe is the same as for chicken cooked in water, except that the eggs have to be boiled and peeled previous to cooking. This dish was eaten about once in every four times. BE U GYAW or fried duck eggs was liked better and eaten three times in every four.

KA YAN-THEE (Brinjal fruit: Solanum Melongena, Linn.): Brinjal fruit are purple in colour and have various sizes ranging from about an inch in the small KAYAN KYUT-THEE (brinjal-small-fruit) variety to about eight inches long in the larger ones. In the manner of preparation known as KAYAN-THEE-O-GAT(brinjal-fruit-pot-stick) they are fried with dried prawns in oil that has been cured with sliced onions. Five brinjals, costing between two and four annas were eaten at one meal in Pantanaw. This dish was eaten once every three or four days, the brinjals being purchased from Pantanaw market or from other villagers. In camp six brinjals costing four to six annas for six fruits in the [illegible] market are needed for one meal. This is eaten once in two or three days.

PE LINMWE THEE (bean-snake-fruit) Snake Gourd: Trichosanthes Anguina, Linn.) are cooked in the same way as brinjals. They were grown at home in Pantanaw and eaten about once every two or three days.

Two of these gourds were sufficient for one meal. In the refugee camp this curry dish is prepared once in three days. Three gourds, together costing four or five annas were used for every meal. Snake gourds are long and white in colour. They are about one TAUNG or one TAUNG and one span in length and usually have a diameter between 1½" and 2½".

PE THEE (Beans: Vigna Catiang, Walp. Var sinensis.): PE THEE beans are one quarter inch to one third inch in diameter, and are about one TAUNG long. They are cooked in the same way as brinjal. 25 beans, together costing about four annas were eaten at every meal. This dish was cooked about thrice a month in Pantanaw, and between three and five times a month here in camp. PE THEE beans have to be bought in MYENIGON market at the rate of 5 annas for 25 beans.

HSAN (Rice: Orisa Sativa, Linn.): Rice is the staple food of the Burmese. It is eaten after it has been boiled and steamed. In Pantanaw five condensed milk tins of rice were consumed in one meal, ten in two meals. At that time the two younger children were too young to eat much. There were two main meals a day. U Myaing bought paddy and had it husked at the rice mill whenever it was needed. It had to be bought at the rate of Rs. 150/- per hundred baskets. One basket is equivalent to 16 PYIS, each of which takes 8 condensed milk tins. The husking charges came to Rs. 10/- for hundred baskets. One hundred baskets of paddy yeilds fifty baskets of rice at three and one fifth rupees per basket. This comes up to three and one fifth annas per PYI or 1/16th of one basket. The market price at Pantanaw (if bought in the open market) was 5 annas per PYI of rice. In the refugee camp, 11 condensed milk tins of rice are consumed every day. The rice has to be bought in MYENIGON market at 12 annas per PYI. Until about three months ago rice was distributed once every two or three weeks by the government. The amount allotted to U Myaing's family as a whole for one week was 8 PYI and 6 condensed milk tins. This was insufficient, and Ma Aye Myaing explained that although they had for some time previous to that been given enough to feed the whole family, by then the government had reduced the total allotted by the amount of rice one adult would consume.

NGA-YOTE-THEE-ACHAUK (chilly-fruit-dry Chillies: Capsicum Frutescens, Linn.) Pounded chillies which have previously been dried constitute an ingredient in almost every dish that the Burmese people prepare for food. The same may be said of onions. Ma Aye Myaing informs us that back in Pantanaw the chillies consumption for one month was one viss at eight annas for ten ticals, or five rupees per viss. In the camp two one anna packets of dried chillies are used each day. One packet of chillies in Camp contains only 4 or 5, each 1½" long by 1" diameter. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the number of ticals in the packet, but a visitor who lives in the camp says that the packets contain only four or five chillies each. These packets have to be purchased at the MYENIGON market.

KYET THUN onions:(Allium cepa, Linn.) One viss of onions lasted ten days back in Pantanaw market at Rs. 1/- per viss. In the camp the figures for consumption are the same, but the price in MYENIGON market is eight annas per viss.

AR LU Potatoes:(Solanum tuberosum, Linn) One viss of onions laste ten days back in Pantanaw and fifty ticals lasted only for one dish, which they gave away as HSOON four or five times a month, having one third of a viss for each meal. The price of potatoes in Myenigon market is 10 or 12 annas per viss.

HSA salt:(Sodium chloride:) There was no need to buy any salt for cooking purposes back in Pantanaw. The family used to work a great deal with salt in making NGAPI for the market, and as the cooking need of salt were taken from this supply the daily consumption was not note In camp, however, they have to buy salt at the rate of one anna per ten ticals, which amount will last them for four days. In camp salt is used at every meal, but at Pathee fish juice was used to fulfil most of the functions of salt. Salt was used there by the family only in preparing fish to be fried.

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PAZUN-CHAUK (prawns-dried): Both in Pantanaw and in camp ten ticals of dried prawns lasts about five or six days. The price per viss, however, was Re. 1/- in Pantanaw, while it is Rs. 1/4 in Myenigon market.

NGAN PYAR YE (fish juice): Fish juice , a viscous liquid, red in colour and salt to the taste is another of the cooking ingredients very widely used in Burmese homes and kitchens. Three large kerosene tins each with a capacity of thirteen viss hold the yearly consumption of NGAN PYAR YE of U Myaing's family in Pantanaw. This item does not involve any special cost since it is nothing but juice which drips from the fish which has been fermenting in the process of NGAPI making. Ma Aye Myaing's family made NGAPI every year. Here in camp, however, the fish juice has to be bought at Rs. 2/8 per viss, and is bought either from Myenigon market or from intinerant sellers. Back in Pathwe it took 5 ticals of NGANPYAR YE to cook a meal while in the camp two ticals are made to suffice. NGAPI YE is light in colour and salt in taste. It is more viscous than NGANPYAR YE and contains some small pieces of fish as well.

HNAN-HSI (Sessamum oil: sessamum indicum, D.E.): Sessamum oil is used every day. In Pantanaw ten ticals of sessamum oil lasts three meals while in camp one tical of oil is used to cook one meal. The price of ten ticals in Pantanaw was 12 annas and in the refugee camp is 6 annas.

KYAN TAGAR (Cane jaggery: sacchhrum officinarum, L.): Two and a half ticals of cane jaggery at each eating were consumed twice a month in Pantanaw. In camp 2½ ticals last one eating and cane sugar jaggery costs two annas for five ticals here as against four annas in Pantanaw.

Supplementary Dishes and TOZAYA

Following are the dishes and ingredients that are usually served as a supplementary dish or as "TOZAYA", leaves of vegetables that are eaten with NGAPI water or fish juice.

BU-THEE (Bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris, ser.): Gourd fruit was eaten three or four times a month in Pantanaw. One gourd fruit varies in size from about 1½ feet by 1 foot to 1 foot by 8 inches.
For each meal one slice measuring 1½ feet by two inches was cooked, one such slice of gourd fruit costing an anna. In the camp half of this amount is prepared for a meal once or twice a month. A slice of gourd fruit measuring half of the Pantanaw amount costs 2 annas in the Myenigon market. The method of preparation for gourd fruit is as follows: Peel, wash and slice the fruit into small pieces. Cook with skinned prawns, NGANPYAR YE, onions, sessamum oil and water. This is known as BU-THEE-KYAW-CHET and is eaten with rice.

DAN DA LUN-THEE (Drumstick fruit: moringaa pterygosperma, Gaertn): One DAN DA LUN fruit measures about 3/4 " in diameter and about 1' long This fruit is prepared by cutting open the stalk, scraping out the inside with a spoon, and then cooking in CHIN YE fashion (as a sour dish) either with prawns or with fish, with tamarind as the sour ingredient, fish juice chillies, and sessamum oil. It is eaten with rice. This fruit was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten during two meals in the month. Each meal requires 25 fruit costing 12 annas for 10.

YONPADE-THEE (Lady's finger, Hibiscus esculentus, Linn.): One fruit is about 3/4 " in diameter and 4" long. In Pantanaw 10 lady's fingers costing one anna for ten were eaten at every meal. There were about four meals in the month where YONPADE THEE was cooked for curry. It is made into a soup, to be consumed with the main meals of the day. Fish have to be boiled and the bones removed from them. Then they have to be mixed with fish juice and water and place on the fire until it starts to boil, when the fruit has to be put in. The children pour this soup straight onto their bowls, whereas the adults drink this soup from the spoon in the soup bowl. The price of this fruit in camp is 10 for two annas. 10 fruit are consumed here at every meal, but they have cooked this dish only three times in the past year.

KAZUN YWET (Rabbit green: Ipomaea aquatica, Forsk.): KAZUN YWET leaf was eaten during five meals a month back in Pantanaw. One bundle would suffice for a meal and was obtained free from the fields One bundle holds about 25 leaves in one bundle here. It may be prepared as a CHIN YE (sour liquid dish) with fish and NGANPYAR YE and tamarind, onions and water. The leaves have to be cut up and washed, mixed thoroughly with the ingredients mentioned above and placed on the fire. This dish can be poured onto the rice or it can be taken in the same way as soup. The leaves and the fish are eaten together with handfuls of rice. The inclusion of the tamarind makes the dish a CHINYE-HIN. In the refugee camp three bundles of these leaves, costing altogether two annas, are made to last three meals. This dish is eaten during ten meals in the month.

KYAUNG-SHAR-THEE (cat-tongue-fruit) Oroxylum indicum, vent): One KYAUNG SHAR THEE is about 1½' long by 3" wide by 3/4" thick. One fruit was eaten for one meal both in Pantanaw and in camp. This dish was prepared in Pantanaw once in every two or three days while here it was eaten only once last year. This fruit sells in Pantanaw at two for three annas as against two annas each in Rangoon. KYAUNG SHAR THEE is prepared in the following way: First the fruit has to be sliced and washed and then cooked with dried fish, oil onion and NGANPYAR YE. No water or chili is put in. This is KYAUNG-SHAR THEE-KYAW-CHET (cat-tongue-fruit-sweet-cooked) and is eaten after burying in handfulls of rice.

DA NYIN-THEE (Pithecolobium Labatum, Benth.): One DA NYIN-THEE is about 1" to 1½" in diameter and ½" to 1" thick. This small fruit eaten with NGAPI appeared ten for one meal, and almost every day when in season. The ten cost four annas. In Rangoon they are used less frequently - for 5 meals per month and ten fruit per meal. The price here is three or four annas for ten. This cheap food was "eaten whenever desired." This fruit is used as TOZAYA after it is either boiled or baked.

THAYET-YWET (Mango leaf: Mangifera indica, Linn.): The mango leaf is eaten as TOZAYA. The leaf, about 2" to 5" long, 3/4" to one and three quarters inch wide, and 1/8th inch thick, is washed. A piece is then broken off, placed on a rice mound, ngapi oil is poured over, more rice is added, and the concoction is ready to go. The leaf does not need to be boiled. In Pathwe the leaf is used for three meals per month and consisted of 5 leaves for each meal. It was free, and gathered from the tree. The leaf has not been eaten once in camp.

MAYAN-THEE (Marian fruit: Bouea Burmanica, Griff): One marian fruit is about 1½ to one and three quarter inch long and 1" in diameter. Marian fruit, eaten raw or salted was gathered free in Pathwe and eaten six meals per month, six fruit per meal. .In camp it was eaten two meals per month, six fruit per meal. In camp it was eaten two meals per month six per meal at the cost of one anna for six. It is eaten after being pounded with burnt chilli, dried prawns and mixed with NGAPI water.

HSU-BOKE-YWET (thorn-smelling-leaf: Acacia pennata.): These leaves were eaten five sprigs a meal three meals a month in Pathwe.

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They are not eaten at all in the camp. One bundle of these leaves cost an anna in Pantanaw. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI water. They do not need to be boiled but can be eaten as they are after being washed. For one eating about 45 leaves are needed.

SHWE-PAYON-THEE, (Golden pumpkin: Cucurbita pepo, D.C.): In Pathwe this fruit was eaten about three or four times a month. One fruit lasted for three meals and costs four annas. It has not been eaten in camp and is not greatly desired. SHWE-PAYON-THEE is cooked with dried fish. The fruit is very large and has to be chopped into pieces and added. Sessamum oil has to be cured with onions, and then the mixture is added to it. NGAN PYAR YE is an ingredient, but not chillies. This dish is eaten after mixing thoroughly with rice or after burying small pieces in small mounds of rice.

THAKWA-THEE (Cucumber: Cucumis sativus, Linn.): Eaten two or three times a month in Pathwe, one fruit measuring about one foot by two inches cost two annas and lasted a meal. It is eaten four or five times a month in camp, but the fruit here measures two inches by eight inches and cost two annas. One fruit is used for one meal. Cucumber can be eaten in two ways - either as a pickle or as a dish. To make pickle dried prawns have to be pounded, cucumber scraped into small slivers, sessamum oil has to be cured with onions and poured onto the cucumber and prawns. Some fish juice and pounded dried chillies are added. This preparation is eaten buried in handfuls of rice. To make the dish, the prawns are skinned and the cucumber peeled. The cucumber is then sliced and mixed with the prawns. Then sessamum oil is cured with the sliced onions, and the mixture of prawns and cucumber is placed in the oil. Some fish juice and little water are also added. This is known as cooking in the KYAW-CHET manner. Food cooked in this way can be either poured onto the rice, or the liquid may be taken as soup and the pieces buried in rice and eaten.

HMO NA DO (Water fern leaves, Marsilea Minuta): These were obtained free from the fields. One small bundle consisting of about eight were eaten about four times a year in Pathwe. This has been eaten only once since the family's arrival in camp. One bundle costs one anna. It is eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. It cannot be made into a dish. It does not need to be prepared in any way, except for washing with water and removing the roots.

HMO (Mushrooms of many varieties): Mushrooms were eaten three times a month in Pathwe using 50 ticals for one meal. They cost two rupees a viss. Not eaten in camp. Mushrooms are cooked with prawns. The prawns are skinned and mixed with cured sessamum oil, onions and fish juice, and a little water is added. This is a KYAW CHET (fried-cooked). Mushrooms cooked in this way are eaten with handfuls of rice.

KAW BI DOKE (Cabbage: Brassica oleracea, Linn., sub-species capitata): One cabbage about seven inches in diameter was eaten at two meals per month costing six annas in Pathwe. In camp the vegetable is eaten two or three times a month, 25 ticals at a cost of three annas per meal. This is eaten with prawns. The cabbage is sliced, sessamum oil cured with onions, fish juice added, and the cabbage fried. This is also eaten either mixed with rice or buried in rice.

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KA NAN (crab: Crustacean, Potemon sayanum): Crab has not been eaten by the family at all. It was not eaten because in Pantanaw the crabs were very small and quite unlike the big ones that can be obtained in Rangoon. Owing to this factor they do not know how to cook or to otherwise prepare crabs for food, and ow in the camp, even though crabs are available, they do not inquire into the price of crabs. Ma Aye Myaing still does not know how to cook crabs for a meal.

BUNYUNT (tender sprouts of bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris Ser); BU NYUNT soup, consisting of five sprouts costing one anna boiled in water was made four to six times a month in Pathwe. In Rangoon one bundle consisting of twosprouts cost one anna. Two bundles were used for one meal, but eaten only three times during the last year.

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DANDALUN-YWET (leaves of drumstick tree: Moringa pterygosperma, Gtn): A soup is made of this leaf. Fish is boiled and its bones removed; the small leaves are taken from the branch and washed. The prepared fish and NGAN PYAR YE are boiled, and when the water boils over the DANDALUN leaf is added. The adults drink this soup from the spoon in the saucer, while the children pour it onto their plates.

MAGYEE YWET (Tamarind leaves: tamarindus indicus, Linn): These small leaves were eaten five times a month, five ticals at a meal. They were gathered free from trees around the village. They have not been eaten once in Rangoon because they have not seen the tamarind on sale anywhere. Tamarind leaves can be prepared in two ways: either as a pickle or as a soup. To prepare the soup boil some fish and add NGAN PYAR YE. When the fish boils over wash some tamarind and add to the mixture. This gives a tamarind soup. For a pickle take either dried prawns or dried fish and pound in the pestle; take some tamarind leaves and mix with salt; put in the dried prawns (or dried fish), sliced onions, and also some sessamum oil, and mix thoroughly. It is eaten buried in handfuls of rice.

KYAR-YO (lotus stalk: Nymphea lotus, Linn): The lotus stalk boiled or fried, was eaten three times a month, five for one meal. It was gathered free in Pathwe. One lotus bundle holds two straws. It is not eaten in camp. NGAN PYAR YE is added, the lotus stalk is peeled, and added to the water when it boils over. Adults drink this soup straight from the spoon in the soup saucer.

SAR-LAY-CHI DAUK (
One Sar-lay-chi-dauk bundle measures 1½" in diameter. It has not been eaten in camp but was used for two meals a month in Pathwe. The market price was one anna for one bundle an inch and a half in diameter, but th family usually secured it free. SARLAY-CHI DAUK are small sprouts. Then they are ready for TOZAYA to be eaten with NGAPI water. There is no need to boil them before using them as TOZAYA.

ON SHI YWET (leaves of Bael fruit: Aegle marmelos, Corr): This leaf, eaten raw, was used in three meals a month. One bundle of four to eight leaves was used for each meal, and cost one anna. At camp it was not eaten once. ON SHI YWET are small leaves which are either circular or slightly elongated in shape. One bundle contains 4 to 8 leaves. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. Two and a half ticals of this leaf are bought for each meal although they may or may not eat that amount.

SHAUK-THEE-LET-THOKE (citrus fruit-hand-prepared) (preparation of lemon: Citrus medica Linn. var.-acida): This citric fruit is eaten raw - either alone or intermixed with NGAPI and other ingredients. To prepare the lemon as LET THOKE take one lemon, peel it and add pounded green chillies and sliced oniohs. Then mix the whole thoroughly with powder of dried prawns, fish juice and salt. Eat with handfuls of rice.

HSALUT-YWET (salad leaves leaves of lettuce: Lactuca sativa, Linn.) Lettuce leaves are fried and eaten. They are sliced in sessamum oil cured with onions and eaten with rice. The family did not eat this at all in Pantanaw, while in the camp it is eaten for three meals in the month. Two sprouts at one anna apiece are used for each meal.

MON LAR-YWET (leaves of carrot: daucus carota, Linn.): One MON LAR leaf bundle holds four or five leaves. These leaves are prepared as a CHIN YE with fish, chillies, onions, sessamum and tamarind fruit, dilute in water. The liquid curry is poured onto the rice while the leaves are buried in rice and eaten. This was eaten three meals a month back in Pathwe. One bundle costing one anna and holding six sprouts lasted for one meal. It has not been eaten once here.

TAMAR-YWET (Neem leaves: Azadichata indica.A.Juss): One TAMAR leaf bundle holds four or five leaves. These leaves are eaten with NGAPI water as a TOZAYA. They are prepared by singeing in the fire. These leaves were not eaten in Pathwe. In camp they are eaten during two meals a month, one bundle costing an anna being consumed at each meal.

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TAMAR-CHIN (pickled leaves of neem: azadirachta indica, A. Juss.): These are specially prepared neem leaves that have been made sour. They are bought from sellers and need no further preparation for eating. For one anna, four to six small stems may be obtained. They were eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI and rice. They are not eaten here at all, but in Pantanaw the family used to eat it once a month, buying the pickle from boats that came from Upper Burma.

HPAN-GA-THEE (Fruit of Terminalia chebula, Linn.): One HPAN GAR fruit measures about 1½" by 1" in diameter. This fruit is eaten with NGAPI as TOZAYA. It is eaten raw. A piece of the small fruit (which is about one to one and a half inches long) is bitten off, and placed on a handful or rice. A spoonful of rice is then poured on it, and some more rice is used to cover it, after which the whole handful is conveyed to the mouth. This fruit was not eaten in Pathwe. Here it is eaten during four meals in the month. One anna buys ten and ten fruits last one meal.

PEIN NE-THEE (Jack fruit: Artocarpus integrifolia, L): One Jack fruit is one foot to one and three quarters feet in length and six inches to 1 foot in thickness. This big fruit contains between 25 and 40 small fruit inside, and it is these small fruit that have to be eaten. It is eaten as a TOZAYA in its raw and tender stage. While the fruit is still small it is taken from the tree and boiled. Then it is cut up into slices and eaten with NGAPI YE. It was eaten about four times a year in Pathwe where one fruit lasted three eatings and cost twelve annas. In camp one fruit lasts two eatings. None were eaten last year; three this year. The seed of the Jack fruit is occasionally boiled and eaten with salt and sessamum oil during the daytime. Even when seeds themselves are purchased they are quite cheap, the cost being only an anna for one condensed milk tin of Jack fruit seeds. Boiled Jack fruit seeds were eaten three times a month in Pathwe, where one condensed milk tin full was prepared for each eating. In camp, six seeds costing one anna for the six are eaten at a time, for three times a month when in season.

PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW (prawn-fish mixed-fried. Prawns fried in meal): To make PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW, pound some rice into a flour, remove the heads from some prawns and mix both with salt and water. Place some oil on the fire until it is ready, and then make small flat pieces of the prepared meal and slide into the oil. In a short time the pieces are ready for consumption. The PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAW sold in the streets are about 2½ inches in diameter and contain about 10 small prawns, but those made at home are usually much larger. They are eaten with rice by this family, although this is not absolutely necessary. In Pathwe, the prawns and fish oil were obtained free from the IWS. This was eaten during six meals a month. At one eating four or five pieces, each containing about ten prawns, were consumed. It has been eaten only once in the camp. Four pieces, costing an anna each were eaten then.

NGA NGABAUNG GYAW (fish-mix-fried. Fish fried in meal) is prepared in the same way as PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW (prawns fried in meal). Rice is pounded into a flour and mixed with the fish and a small amount of water. Oil is placed on the fire and when ready, the prepared meal and fish are shaped into small flat pieces and placed in the oil. The fried product is then eaten with rice. It may also be eaten by itself as a trifle. NGA-NGABAUNG-GYAW was not eaten at all in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month. One piece costs one anna and three pieces are consumed every time it is eaten.

THAYET-THEE-THANAT (Mango-fruit-pickle: mangifera indica, Linn.): Mango pickle is made in the following manner:- The mango fruit are cut in halves and kept overnight in salt water. In the morning they are laid out in the sun to dry. This drying goes on for three or four days and then they are again mixed with salt water and after that steamed in a steam cooker (PAUNG GYAUNG). After this the mangoes are pressed and stored in a small SIN O or earthenware jar. When it is required for eating, large red onions and garlic, sessamum oil, NGAN PYAR YE

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and saffron are mixed with the dried and salted mangoes to make mango pickle. This pickle is eaten with rice. The mango is steamed to make it softer and easier to tear apart. THAYET-THEE-THANAT was eaten during three meals a month in Pathwe, where three or four pieces were consumed at each meal. One piece of mango pickle is about 1/6th of one mango. The pickle was made at home from mangoes that were obtained free of charge. The figures for consumption per meal in camp are the same, but here it is eaten more often - once in every two or three days. One anna's worth of mango pickle lasts two meals here.

MAYAN-THEE-THANAT (Marian-fruit-pickle: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): MAYAN THEE-THANAT has not been made once by Ma Aye Myaing. In Pantanaw no one made this, but in camp they have eaten some which they purchase from Indian women who came around selling it. Ma Aye Myaing does not know how Marian pickle can be made. Marian fruit is also eaten as a flavouring ingredient in dishes, after being sliced into halves and dried in the sun. Fish is chopped and washed, mixed with NGAN PYAR YE, pounded chillies, pounded onions, sessamum oil, water and dried marian. The main ingredient in this dish is fish, and the dried marian is just a flavouring agent. It serves as a flavouring in the NGA-CHIN-YE-HIN dish. Marian pickle is not desired by the family.

ZEE-YO (Plum jam: zizyphus jujuba, Lam.): Plum jam is bought from the sellers. It is eaten as a trifle in the daytime. One annas worth of plum jam weighs about 2½ ticals. In Pantanaw also ZEE YO sellers used to come around to the house; it was much cheaper there than Rangoon since one anna would buy 7½ ticals of plum jam. In Pathwe one tea-cup full weighing about 2½ ticals cost an anna and lasted one meal. ZEE-YO was eaten there only once a month. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month but the consumption per eating has dropped to ½ of one teacup, which costs one anna. One Burmese teacup is equivalent to about ½ the standard western teacup. [804] [415]

THAYET-THEE-HSA-SKIN (mango-fruit-salt-soaked: mangifera indica, Linn): Salted mangoes are eaten with rice as TOZAIA. It is buried in rice and eaten with NGAPI water. To make salted mangoes, wash the required amount of mangoes, mix with salt and place in large earthenware jars. After three days mix salt with water and place on the fire, and then pour the salted water into the jar so that the mangoes inside will be completely submerged. In Pantanaw one salted mango sufficed for one meal, and salted mangoes were eaten once every two or three days. They were salted at home, the cost of making 120 salted mangoes amounting to Rs. 10/- in all. The family has not eaten salted mangoes in camp "even once".

MAYAN-THEE-HSA-SKIN (Marian-fruit-salt-soaked: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): Salted marian is prepared in the same manner as bove. In Pathwe marians were obtained free and salted at home. 1000 marians could be salted for one rupee. Six marians were eaten at each meal, and they were eaten almost every day. Salted marians have not been eaten in camp at all by the family.

NAR-NAT-YO (pineapple jam: ananas sativa, Linn.) has never been made by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys the jam from sellers who come round It can be eaten either by itself or with plain tea in the afternoons. In Pathwe village it was not eaten at all, and in camp they have had it only once, when they ate 5 ticals of jam worth four annas.

THAYET-YO (Mango-jam: mangifera indica, Linn.): It is bought from sellers and usually eaten in the afternoons as a trifle. It has not been eaten at all in camp. In Pantanaw mango jam was made once every year. Mangoes were obtained free and four annas worth of sugar gave ten or fifteen ticals of jam. One teacup was consumed at every eating.

ON-YO (coconut-jam: cocos nucifera, Linn.): Coconut jam has to be bought by pieces. They are usually of white colour and square in shape. One stick measures 2" by 1½" by ½". They are made by mixing sugar with water andplacing on the fire. Coconut scrapings are added, and when the liquid solidifies the hard coconut jam surface is cut up into separate pieces. ONYO Was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten once a month. Three or four sticks, each costing one anna, are consumed at each eating. 262 435 178●

BAMAR-LAPHET-CHAUK (Burmese-tea-dry: Camellia theifera, Griff.): Burmese tea leaves are made into a beverage by simply sprinkling a few leaves in a pot of boiling water. The same leaves can be used to brew two or three pots of plain tea at each occasion of drinking. Burmese plain tea is taken either by itself or together with cane jaggery. Two or three pinches of tea-leaves, each pinch about the size of a betel nut, are necessary for one pot of plain tea both in Pantanaw and in camp. In both places the family drinks two pots a day, but a rupee buys 12½ ticals of tea here as against only 10 ticals in Pathwe.

PEIN U (Taro tuber: colocasia antiquorum, Schott): This fruit is cooked as a dish. It is peeled, prawns are skinned and mixed with NGANPYAR YE; sessamum oil is cured with onions, water is added, and the whole thing is then cooked. This is a KYAW-CHET dish and has to be eaten with rice. PEIN U has not been eaten once in camp but in Pathwe was eaten during four meals a month. Thirty ticals, costing three annas, were used at each meal.

KAZUN U (Sweet potato: Ipomea Batatas, Poir) is boiled and eaten with salt and sessamum oil. In Pathwe fifty ticals were eaten at one meal. One meal was eaten with KAZUN U every three days. One viss cost six annas in their village. In camp fifty ticals are consumed at each meal, but the price is ten annas for a viss. They have had this dish only once since their arrival at camp.

TRIFLES

"Trifles" are tid-bits eaten at the end of the meal or between meals. They are usually sweet foods as cakes and candy. The distinction between trifles and some supplementary dishes is not clear and they fall into either catagory depending on the use of the occasion. 263 435 178

MON-YAR-YOE (cake-lotus stalk) is a small elongated trifle, measuring 1½" in diameter, ½ inch in thickness and 5 ticals in weight. One condensed milk tin of treacle rice (KAUK HNYIN) and one condensed milk tin of ordinary white rice are ground together and then mixed with water and made into eliptical balls. These balls are then boiled and eaten with jaggery water and scraped coconuts. They are sold at one anna each. This trifle was not sold in Pathwe. It is eaten three times a month in camp by the four children who have one each. One MON-KYAR-YOE costs one anna here.

MON-LETKAUK (cake-bangle) is made by grinding together some KAUK-HNYIN and some rice and then frying. In shape the trifle is sometimes long and sometimes is made in the form of whorls. It has to be fried in oil and eaten with jaggery liquid. It was eaten once a month in Pathwe but has not been eaten once in camp. This is in part due to the absense of sellers.

MON-OT-KALAY (cake-cover-small) are small circular trifles with a diameter of about two inches and measuring one inch in the thickest part of the trifle. These trifles are all of one size and are made by first grinding ordinary white rice, then adding some sugar and some coconut scrapeings and then being placed in the special oven for MON-OT-KALAY. This special oven is made of clay and contains several small declivities which give the shape of MON OT KALAY trifles to the prepared meal that is poured in after these moulds have been wiped with oil to prevent the meal from sticking to them. This trifle had

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never been seen by the family in Pathwe. In Rangoon, eight of these are sufficient for one eating. U Myaing's family ate MON OT KALAY five times in two months during their stay at the A.F.P.F.L. area. Eight trifles dost two annas.

MON-SALIN DAUNG is made by grinding flour from poor quality rice, mixing with jaggery, and frying in oil. In shape it is circular, with its thickness varying from about ¼ inch at the circumference to about one inch and slightly over in the centre. The trifle is about three and one half inches in diameter. It is eaten as it is. MON SALIN DAUNG was not eaten at all in Pathwe. In camp the four children eat it four times a month at one anna each.

GYIN-THOKE. Preparation of ginger with sessamum oil, common salt: onion, garlic and sessamum seeds etc. (Ginger: gingiber officinale; Rose: Sessamum oil sessamum indicum, D.C.; common salt: sodium chloride onion: allium cepa Linn; garlic: allivium sativum, Linn; sessamum seed: sesamum indicum. D.C.) GYIN-THOKE is a trifle and is consumed between meals. One packet weighs 2½ ticals. In U Myaing's family it is eaten only by the three adults. In Pathwe they ate it only at festivals, which gave them four or five eatings in the year. In the fefugee camp, it is eaten five times a month, and two packets, each costing two annas are eaten at a time.

AR PON (open-mounting) is a trifle which has to be bought by Ma Aye Myaing when they wish to eat it. It is usually eaten in the mornings and in between meals. It is made in the following manner: first, rice flour is mixed with water and liquid jaggery, then several deep pans are placed on the fire and hot coals placed on their improvised lids; when the pans are hot enough they are wiped with a rag soaked in sessamum oil in readiness for the prepared mixture. The meal is then taken up in small cups and poured into each pan, after which the pan is taken up andwith one deft circular movement the meal is spread out over the walls of the pan. Then the lids are replaced and between the two fires the trifle is ready within two or three minutes. The AR PON has to be scooped out of the pan with a flat iron ladle. In appearance it is a concave trifle, very thin and slightly brown at the sides, and thick and white at the centre of the declivity. It measures 6½ inches in diameter. It has to be eaten either with sugar or with a solution of sugar and coconut milk. Only the four children eat AR PON. In Pathwe they used to eat it every day. They ate one each, and it cost U Myaing four annas for the four of them. Here in the camp, the family has not had this trifle once yet.

MON-LAR-U-GYAW (Carrot root fried: daucus carota, Linn.): It is prepared with prawns in sessamum oil that has been cured with onions. MON LAR fruit can also be eaten as a TOZAYA with NGAPI after being boiled. It is generally an oblong shaped bulb about 4½ inches long and 2" to 2½" diameter in the thickest part. It can be cooked alternatively as a CHIN YE dish with fish, tamarind, chillies, onions, sessamum, and NGAMPYAR YE. This fruit has not been eaten here at all, but in Pathwe willage was eaten three times a month. Five fruits weighing about thirty ticals and costing two annas for the five, were needed for one meal.

THIN BAW THEE (ship-fruit. Papaiya fruit: carica papaya, Linn.): Papaiya fruit is cooked as a CHIN YE with the same ingredients as above. It has not been eaten once here. In Pathwe it was eaten four times a month. Each eating required one fruit weighing thirty ticals and costing 2 annas.

SAR LAY-CHI-GYAW (sparrow-feces-fried). These vermicelli circular plates made from gram flour and fried in oil were unknown to U Myaing's family back in Pathwe. They have eaten it in camp, but only after buying from sellers. They have never seen it being made. This is a trifle which consists of long thin strands of meal fried to a yellow crispness. It is eaten here almost every day, costs an anna apiece and five are eaten at a time.

KYAN (sugar cane: saccharum officinarium, Linn.) is eaten as it is.

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In Rangoon one small piece slightly over a span long costs an anna, whereas a stalk four TAUNGS long cost only three annas. It is eaten in the afternoons. In Pathwe sugar cane was bought in sufficient quantity for all members of the family, (a whole stalk for one eating, and eaten about six times in the month) but here only the children eat sugar cane and then only occasionally.

KYET THUN-GYAW (onion-fried: Allium cepa, Linn): Fried onions are eaten either alone or with rice. The onion strips are bought at one anna apiece in Rangoon. They measure between 2" and 3" in diameter. In Pathwe it was never prepared, and they had never eaten it before their arrival in Rangoon. They knew that onions could be prepared in this way to be eaten as a trifle but they had never tried it themselves. One of the main reasons being the relatively high price of onions back in Pathwe. When it is eaten with the main meals, small pieces are torn off and buried in handfuls of rice then eaten. This trifle ordinarily measures about 4" in diameter and costs an anna each. It is prepared by frying flat pieces of a mixture prepared of rice flour and sliced onions. The trifles are eaten thrice a month in here by the family. They do not eat till satisfied, three or four pieces being made to suffice for one eating. These are shared giving each member less than one each.

MALAKAR-THEE (Guava fruit: Psidum Guyava, Linn) is eaten as it is. It has to be bought in camp at the rate of one anna each if the fruit is big and two for an anna if they are small. In Pathwe guava fruit cost an anna for one small fruit. There were some guava trees in the village, but the fruit was meant for home consumption and not for sale, and consequently Ma Aye Myaing and family got guava fruit only when sellers from other villages came over. In Pathwe it was eaten six times a month, while in camp it is eaten almost every day when in season. Five fruits were taken at one meal in Pathwe while in camp the figure has risen to 12 per meal.

PAUK PAUK HSOTE (puffed grains with jaggery of Lower Burma) is prepared in the following way: a pan full of fine sand is placed on the fire and kept there till the sand grows burning hot. Grains of KAUK HNYIN paddy are taken and mixed and stirred in the sand until the the heat bursts the grains open. Then the sand is sifted out, and the burst grains are mixed with jaggery and rolled into balls about 3½" in diameter. These round balls are eaten in the afternoons. PAUK PAUK HSOTE was eaten three times a month in Pathwe. Three Burmese teacups full at one anna a teacup, were needed for each eating. This trifle is not eaten at all in camp.

KAYE KAYA (puffed grains with jaggery of Upper Burma: Orisa sativa, Linn) has not been eaten by U Myaing's family. In camp it is too expensive and back in Pathwe there was no one who made KAYE KAYA. However, Ma Aye Myaing knows the procedure for making it. According to her, this trifle is made by bursting fine powder, and mixing thoroughly with jaggery, Lukutate jam, (DANIN YO) dorian-jam, and coconut scrapings. The finished product is not sliced up into ready made pieces, but instead is sold according to weight. In Pathwe village there was no KAYE KAYA, but another trifle, very similar to it, known as PAUK PAUK PYIN was widely consumed. To make this trifle, KAUK HNYIN paddy has to be burst, pounded into a powder, mixed with lukutate jam, coconut scrapings water, grape jam (THABYET YO) grape jam, and sessamum. The whole mixture is then placed on the fire and stirred. About half an hour after stirring, it is placed in a shallow receptacle, and when it cools, it is cut up into pieces to give to the phongyis as HSOON or to feed visitors.

NAN NAT-THEE (pineapple fruit, Ananas sativa, Linn) is bought by the whole fruit, skinned, washed, and eaten with salt, or with NGAPI water. However, it is more often eaten by itself as a trifle. Pineapple was not eaten back in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten about four times a month when in season. One fruit, costing 2 annas, is consumed at one eating.

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PE MYINT (bean-root, tuberous toots of Goa-bean: Pachyrhisus angulatus, Rich) has not been eaten once since arriving at camp. This is because they do not want it. In Pathwe they used to buy these beens, boil and skin them and eat with salt and sessamum oil. PE MYINT was obtained free because Ma Aye Myaing's mother worked at gardening back in Pathwe.

PALAW PINAN (Palaw-Penang Tapioca tuberous roots, Manihot utilissima, Pohl) had to be bought if desired, both in Pantanaw and in camp. In appearance they are long thick tubers which are white in colour and measure 12 to 14 inches long, with a diameter of about 2 inches. After it has been boiled it is eaten as a trifle with salt and sessamum oil. In Pathwe 50 ticals were consumed at one eating, at six annas a viss. It was eaten seven times a month. In the refugee camp it is eaten twice a month and then only by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys ten ticals for two annas from sellers who come to the camp.

MON-HIN-GA (cake-curry-bitter. vermicelli made from rice flour and eaten with curry) is another food which has to be bought for consumption both in Pantanaw and in the camp. It is eaten both in the early morning and in the daytime. In Pantanaw it was sold at the rate of 4 annas per 12 ticals - which was sufficient for one person. In camp it is eaten only individually, mainly by U Myaing. In Pantanaw it was usually prepared at home for all the family, and that required 50 ticals for each eating. It was eaten four times a month in Pantanaw and is eaten 5 times a month here. MON HIN GA sellers come to the camp.

KAUK HYNIN-BAUNG (steamed treacle rice: Orisa sativa, Linn) has to be bought and is usually eaten in this family in the early morning. The rice is soaked in water and steamed on the fire for about one hour. Should it become too hard, water is poured in, and the KAUKHNYIN stirred with a ladle. It is eaten with a mixture of coconut and sessamum and rice that has been pounded together. If for the whole family four condensed milk tins of treacle rice are prepared, usually two or three times a month when in Pathwe. One anna bought 7½ ticals. However, this trifle is mainly eaten by the youngest daughter and in camp she alone consumes five ticals every day. Sellers of this trifle come to the camp.

BEIN-MON (wheel-cake) A sweet prepared from rice flour, in the form of a circular cake stuffed with jaggery and baked. It is bought from sellers, who cut the trifle into pieces with a pair of large scissors. Each of these small pieces when sold in camp weigh 2½ ticals and is sold for one anna. In appearance the trifle is brown and porous and bears some resemblance to a flat circular sponge. It is made by pounding poor quality rice into a flour and mixing with jaggery liquid and then frying in a flat pan with a lid on which hot coals are placed. Before putting the lid on, some sessamum seeds are sprinkled on the surface of the mixture. The trifle is ready in about five minutes. The whole BEIN MON weighs about 50 to 60 ticals and measures about "two fingers thick" and fourteen inches in diameter. The four children are the main consumers. In Pathwe they ate this three times a month and in camp twice a month. Four pieces are eaten in both places at one eating, and the price of an anna each is also the same, but whereas one piece in camp weighs 2½ ticals, those in Pathwe weigh 5 ticals each.

PE-GYAW (gram-fried: Cicer arictinum Linn) Grams fried in meal cost one anna each both in Pantanaw and in camp. Each measures about 3½" in diameter, and weighs 5 ticals. Rice of poor quality is pounded into a flour together with KAUK HNYIN rice. The flour is then mixed with boiled PE LUN beans and fried. Some salt has to be added. This trifle also is mainly consumed by the children. In both Pathwe and the refugee camp four pieces at an anna each were eaten at a time, three or four times a month in Pantanaw, two or three times a month in camp.

MON YIT SALET (A sweet prepared from wheat flour and jaggery baked in frying pans. Triticum vulgare, vill.) is made by mixing flour of coarse rice with liquid jaggery and then frying. Some sessamum seeds are sprinkled onto the trifle before it is fried. It is eaten either in the early morning or in the afternoon - never with meals. The figures for consumption of MON PYIT SALET are exactly the same as for those of PE GYAW.

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MON-KYO-LEIN (cake-string-mingle): A sweet prepared from rice flour, fried and soaked in sugar solution, as its name signifies, is a trifle which looks like a twisted rope. It is bought, and each piece weighs about 2½ ticals. It is made of flour of coarse rice and KAUK NYIN, fried and then dipped in a sugar solution, The sugar sticks to the trifle and solidifies there . With the exception of U Myaing, the whole family eats this trifle. In both places, 6 were consumed at one anna each, five times a month in Pathwe, four times a month in camp.

MON-SEIN-BAUNG ~~(cake-[illegible]-steam). Steam-~~cooked rice eaten with coconut scrapings and jaggery is made by sifting rice flour through a strainer, mixing it with water, and steaming it in a PAUNG GYAUNG (steam cooker). It is eaten in the mornings and in the afternoons. Only the four children eat this trifle; five ticals to each child both in Pantanaw and camp. The price is also the same in both places - one anna for five ticals, but whereas it was eaten ten times a month in Pathwe, it has been eaten by the family only twice since their arrival at camp.

MON-ON HNAUK (cake-brain). A sweet, soft preparation like pudding made from rice flour and sugar or jaggery is a trifle about two inches thick and 3½ to 4 inches long. The recipe for it is quite simple - take some rice flour and make a stew, mix with water and boil until it solidifies. Cut up into required sizes and eat with coconut milk and sugar. This is not eaten in the camp but in Pathwe they used to have it twice a month - six annas worth - for each eating.

MON-HPET-HTOKE (cake-leaf-wrap) This is a sweet prepared from soft rice paste covering jaggery or dorian. The procedure for making MON PHET HTOKE is as follows: KAUK HNYIN rice is first soaked in water and then ground. The water is then strained away, and the rice flour again kneaded with water. Small amounts of the rice weighing about 5 ticals each are then taken, coconut scrapings and jaggery are buried in them, and they are then wrapped in plantain leaves boiled for about one hour. Eat after unwrapping the plantain leaves. This article was not eaten at all by the family when in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten three times a month by all except U Myaing. Six pieces, each costing an anna, are consumed at one eating.

HTANYET-CHAUNG (jaggery-stick: prepared from sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum, Linn.) They are made by placing some jaggery and water on the fire. The jaggery melts in the heat and when it completely liquifies, it is poured out into a receptacle containing water. During the interval in which the jaggery is still warm enough to be pliable, and cool enough to permit of handling, it is drawn out into long flat sticks and cut up into pieces. One piede measures 5" long, 1" wide and ¼ to ⅓ " thick, and three are sold for one anna. This is another trifle that was not found in Pantanaw. In camp the three youngest children eat this about ten times a month. Six pieces, at an anna for three pieces, are eaten at a time.

PE-GYI-HLAW (Baked long beans: Dolichos lablab, Linn. var lignosus, Prain.) These beans are soaked in water and laid out in the sun to dry. When they have been dried to a certain extent they are taken in and fried in a pan containing a very large amount of salt. In Pantanaw everyone in the family ate baked beans, but here consumption is mainly confined to the children. In Pathwe 12½ ticals at 4 annas for 12½. were eaten by the family five times a month, while in camp the children have 2½ ticals or one anna's worth at each eating. They have it eight times in the month.

MYE PE (ground nut: Arachis hypogaea, Linn.) is usually bought and eaten in between meals. In Pathwe twelve and one half ticals of ground nuts cost four annas. This lasted the family for a day, and they ate ground nuts four days in the month. In camp they eat this only occasionally, buying the nuts from the shop in the camp. Each person buys one anna's worth or ¼ tical of peeled ground nuts for one eating.

PATTANI (baked pea seeds: pisum arvense, Linn.) is not eaten here very often, only twice in the past two years and in Pantanaw it was not eaten at all. This was because there were no sellers of PATTANI in the village.

PE-BYOTE (pea-boiled: pisum arvense, Linn.) The peas are soaked in water and left there until they sprout, when they are taken out and boiled in water together with a small amount of soda. It is eaten with salt and sessamum oil. The figures for consumption of PE BYOTE are the same both for Pantanaw and for camp. Twelve and one half ticals, worth two annas, are eaten every morning by the family.

THAR GU (Sago: Arenga sacharifera, Labill.) is mixed with water and placed on the fire and left there until the little white specks in the sago seeds have disappeared. Then, liquid jaggery and scraped coconuts and salt are added. After this the THAR GU is ready for eating. THAR GU was eaten twice a month in Pathwe from sellers. In camp they have had it five times since their arrival. They had six saucers at each eating in both places, but each saucer cost two annas here as against one anna in Pantanaw.

MON-LET HSAUNG (cake-hand-more). This is a sweet prepared from rice paste fried in oil in small drops and then put into either sugar solution or in jaggery solution. To make this, rice is soaked in water and then ground, and then the water wrung out. It is then laid out in the sun to dry, after which it is again mixed with water and put on the fire to expand. This forces the rice through a tin which has small holes bored in the bottom, so that small pieces of boiled rice either round or elongated in shape are obtained. When these ar mixed with jaggery liquid, sugar and coconut milk the MON LET HSAUNG is ready for drinking. This is usually taken in the dry season and mainly by the four children. Four cups are taken at a time in both places. The cups are of the same capacity but the drink was consumed five times a month in Pathwe and only three times a month in camp.

MON-LEIT PYAR (cake-butterfly). This is a blue or purple coloured sweet prepared from rice flour and jaggery or sugar. Ma Aye Myaing is not acquainted with the procedure for making this trifle. She describes this as 4½" long and measuring four fingers across. It weighs 2½ ticals, and contains peas and jaggery mixed together. It is bought at the rate of two for an anna. Four are consumed at each eating and there are six meals a month of this trifle. It was not eaten in Pathwe.

BU-THEE-GYAW (Gourd-fruit-fried). This is fried gourd with gram flour or wheat flour used as a binding material and flavoured with ginger. The fruit is washed, peeled, sliced and fried with rice flou It is not eaten by the family here but in Pathwe sellers used to come and sell this trifle at the rate of five for four annas. Seven of these pieces each three inches long and containing five slices were consumed at each eating. This was eaten during four meals in the month. (Gourd: lagenaria vulgaris, ser. Gram: cicer arietinum, Linn. Ginger; Zingiver officinale, Rose. Musa paradisiaca, Linn. Sub-sp. sapientum. K. Schum.)

NG. PYAW-GYAW (plantains-fried) Fried plantains are prepared in the same manner, with the exception that the bananas are sometimes fried without being sliced into smaller pieces. In Pantanaw the family consumed in a day one bunch of bananas holding 13 fruit and costing three annas for the bunch. It was eaten four or five times a month. In camp one bunch of thirteen is eaten in a day, five days in the month, and costs four annas for the bunch.

ZEE-THEE (Plum, zizyphus Jujuba, Lam.) are eaten after washing. They are eaten during the day, with salt. In Pathwe 2 condensed milk tins of plum were eaten at a time. It was eaten four times a month. The family does not eat plum here.

THAYET-THEE-AHME (mango-fruit-ripe: mangifera indica, Linn) are also eaten frequently with rice and NGAPI YE. Unripe mangoes are also eaten in this way. In Pantanaw they were eaten five times a month, 10 for one eating. The size of a mangoe varies from 4" long to 2½¢. Mangoes in season cost four annas for ten. In camp they have eaten mangoes twice in six months, six for one eating, Re. 1/- for six. 263 435 178●

MAYAN-THEE-AHME (marian-fruit-ripe: Bouea burmanica, Griff.) are eaten in the afternoons, with salt. Similarly with unripe ones. They are also eaten with rice and NGAPI YE. In Pathwe about ten fruits were eaten almost daily when in season.

NGA PYAW-THEE (banana-fruit: Musa paradisica, Linn, Sub-sp, sapientum, K. Schum). Bananas are sometimes eaten with rice during the main meals but usually by themselves. In Pathwe one bunch a day containing 13 bananas and costing three annas were eaten during four or five times a month. In camp the same bunch costs four annas and bananas are eaten five times a month.

THAGYAR-LON (sugar-ball) or sweets, and CHO-CHIN (sweet-sour) are bought. Ma Aye Myaing has never seen these being made and hence does not know the process of manufacture. The THAGYAR-LON are round sweets also but are shaped like small orange pods and weighing about six to the tical. They are eaten only in camp. The consumption of sweets is limited to the youngest. She gets 8 THAGYAR-LONS a month at one anna for two and two for an eating; and 18 CHO-CHIN a month at an anna for six and six for one eating.

Ma Aye Myaing gave the following data on the period of the year when the foods used by the family are available. 262

Fish is obtained from the fishery in Pathwe from the month of Tawthalin to the month of Pyatho. From the other places in the river, fish was obtained from Tabodwe month to the months of Kason and Nayon. The varieties of fish remain the same in both fishing areas. Shrimps are plentiful in Pyatho month and lobsters in Tazaungmon and Nadaw.

KALA-HE (dhall): In common with a great number of peas and beans, KALA HE appears about the month of Tabaung. However, since these are not very perishable, they can be kept in stock for the whole year and made available in any month.

KAYAN-THEE (brinjal): The brinjal plant starts to bear fruit in the month of Pyatho and continues to Kason and Nayon. In Tawthalin and Thadingyut, brinjal fruit was brought to Pathwe from other villages from the fields not on the river banks. Here in Rangoon they notice that brinjal fruit is available all year round.

PE-LINMWE-THEE (snake beans) were available during the months of Kason, Nayon, Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

In Rangoon many of the plants and vegetables that were cultivated only seasonally back in Pathwe and the other district villages, are cultivated all the year round. The ready market in Rangoon encourages the districts lying just outside Rangoon to produce whatever plants they can and send them to town. [369] [241]

PE THEE (beans): these appeared in Pathwe for 9 months in the year. The first period is from Tazaungmon to Tagu, and the second from Waso to Thadingyut inclusive. In Rangoon this is available all year round.

HSAN (rice): During the months of Kason and Nayon the paddy grains are sown in the nurseries, and the seedlings are then transplanted to the fields during Waso and Wagaung. In other fields where no transplanting is carried on, the seeds are sown broadcast in Kason and Nayon. There are some species of paddy grain that ripen earlier than the rest. However, from the point of view of the consumer, rice is available all the year round. [243]

NGAYOTE-THEE (chillies): The seeds are planted during Waso, Wagaung and Tawthalin and transplanted during Tazaungmon. The chillies

Second Meal (5:00 p.m.)

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Steamed rice was eaten with a fish curry dish (NGA BYAY MA CHIN HIN)

Item	Weight in Grams
Rice (same type and amount as 1st meal)	1124
Water for boiled rice....................	1530
NGA PYAY MA (climbing Anabas testiduna), 13 fish........	281
Garlic................................	6
Onions................................	15
Chillies (pounded)....................	22
MA GYI-THEE (tamarind)	37
Salt	10
Sessamum oil	28
NGAN-PYAR-YE	23
Water used in curry	261
Total	3337

In the afternoon 1 anna's worth of PE KWAY GYAW trifle (grounded grams fried in groundnut oil after moulding, Grams are chick peas: Cicer arietinum, LINN., groundnuts are peanuts: Arachis hypogaea, LINN.) weighing 32 grams were bought for the children.

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Table:- An average estimate of major Foods consumed by U Myaing's family. (Number of meals per month over quantity per meal in parenthesis.)

	Food consumed in	
Item	Pathwe	Camp
HSAN (rice)	60 (5 milk tins).	60 (5½ milk tins)
Fish	30 eaten when other meats not eaten. (50 ticals)	4 (12½ ticals)
Prawns	10 (25 ticals)	15 (15 ticals)
KALAPE (Dhall beans)	5 (25 ticals)	25 (25 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in	
	Pathwe	Camp
Chicken	8 (whole fowl) 50-60 ticals	0
Duck	8 (50 ticals)	0
Beef	8 (50 ticals)	0
Pork	10 (25 ticals)	2 (25 ticals)
Duck eggs	3 (5 eggs)	0
KHANYAN THEE (brinjal fruit)	7 (5 fruits)	10 (16 fruits)
PE LINMME THEE (snake gourd)	8 (2 gourds)	10 (3 gourds)
PE THEE (beans)	3 (25 beans)	4 (25 beans)
NGAYOTE THEE ACHAUK (dried chillies)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (5 chillies)
KYET THUN NI (onions)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (1/20 viss)
AR LU (potatoes)	4 Prepared only for pongyis. (50 ticals)	5 (33 ticals)
HSA (salt)	With fried fish only (12½ ticals a month).	60 (1.3 ticals)
NGAN PYAR YE (fish juice)	60 (5 ticals, 6 spoonfuls)	60 (2 ticals - 2 spoonfuls)
HNAN HSI (Sessamum oil)	60 (3.3 ticals)	60 (1 tical)
KYAN TAGAR (cane jaggery)	2 (2½ ticals)	5 (2½ ticals)
HTIN (firewood)	60 (5 pieces)	60 (3 pieces)
BAMA LAPHET CHAUK (tea leaves)	60 (2.5 teaspoons ful)	60 (2.5 teaspoon fuls)
BU THEE (gourd fruit)	4 (1 slice : 1½' by 2")	2 (½ slice)
DAN DALUN THEE (drumstick fruit)	0	2 (25 fruits)

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(continued)

Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	 Camp
YON PADE THEE (Lady's finger fruit)	4 (10 fruit)	.25 (10 fruit)
KAZUN YWET (Rabbit green leaf)	5 (1 bundle)	10 (1 bundle)
KYAUNG SHAR THEE (fruit)	10 (1 fruit)	.1 (1 fruit)
DANYIN THEE (small fruit)	Every day in season. (10 fruits)	5 (10 fruits)
THAYET YWET (Mango leaf)	3 (5 leaves)	0
MAYAN THEE (Marian fruit)	6 (6 fruits)	2 (6 fruits)
HSU BOTE YWET (Acacia leaves)	3 (5 leaves)	0
SHWE PAYON THEE (golden pumpkin)	4 (⅓ fruit)	0
THAKHWA THEE (cucumber)	3 (1 fruit 1' by 2")	5 (1 fruit 8" by 2")
HMO MA DO (water fern leaves)	.4 (8 leaves)	.1 (8 leaves)
HMO (mushrooms)	3 (50 ticals)	0
KAW PI DOK (cabbage)	2 (1 cabbage 7" diam.)	3 (25 ticals)
BU NYUNT (tender shoots of bottle gourd)	5 5 sprouts	.25 4 sprouts
MA GYEE YWET (tamarind leaves)	5 (5 ticals)	0
KYAR YO (lotus stalk)	3 (5 stalks)	0
SAR LAY CHE DAUK (sprouts)	2 (1 bundle)	0
OW SHI YWET (leaves of bael fruit)	3 (6 leaves)	0
SHAUK THEE (large lemons)	0	3 (⅓ fruit)
MON KYAR YOE trifle (lotus stalk shaped trifle)	4 trifles	0
MON LET KAUK trifle (bracelet shaped trifle)	0	3 (4 trifles)

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Food consumed in

Item	Pathne	Camp
MON OT KALAY trifle (small cover trifle)	0	2½ (8 trifles)
MON SALIN DAUNG trifle. (circular trifle)	0	4 (4 trifles)
HSALUT YWET (leaves of lettuce)	0	3 (2 sprouts)
MON LAR YWET (carrot leaves)	3 (6 sprouts)	0
PEDI BIN BAUK (bean sprouts)	0	(once only) (25 ticals)
TAMAR YWET (leaves of neem)	0	2 (1 bundle)
HPAN GA THEE (fruit)	0	4 (10 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE (Jack fruit)	.3 (⅓ fruit)	.25 (¼ fruit)
PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAW (prawns fried in meal.)	6 (40 prawns)	.1 (20 prawns)
NGA NGABAUNG GYAW (fish fried in flour)	0	4 (3 fish pieces)
THAYET THEE THANAT (mango pickle)	3 (4 pieces)	10 (4 pieces)
MAYAN THEE THANAT (marian pickle)	0	Sampled only
ZEE YO (plum jam)	1 (1 tea cup)	5 (½ teacup)
THAYET THEE HSA SEIN (salted mangoes)	10 (1 mango)	0
MAYAN THEE HSA SEIN (salted marians)	Almost every day (6 marians)	0
NAR NAT YO (pineapple jam)	0	once only (5 ticals)
THAYET YO (mango jam)	.25 (1 teacup)	0
KAZUN U (sweet potato)	10 (50 ticals)	once only (50 ticals)
MON LAR U GYAW (fried carrots)	3 (30 ticals)	0
THIN BAW THEE CHIN YE (Sour dish of paapiya fruit)	4 (30 ticals)	0
SAE LAY CHI GYAW	0	every day 5

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	 Camp
PEIN U (taro tuber)	4 (30 ticals)	0
GYIN THOKE (mixed ginger dish)	.4	5 (5 ticals)
AR PON (concave shaped trifle)	Every day (4 ticals)	0
KYAN (sugar cane)	6 (7 stalks)	occasionally (4 stalks)
KYET THUN GYAW (fried onion trifle)	3	3 (4 pieces)
MALAKAR THEE (guava fruit)	6 (5 fruits)	almost every day (12 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE TOZAYA (Jack fruit as TOZAYA)	.9 (1 fruit)	.4 (1 fruit)
PAUK PAUK HSOTE (puffed rice trifle)	3 (3 teacupsful)	0
KAYE KLYAR (puffed rice trifle)	2 (12.5 ticals)	0
PAUK PAUK PYIN (puffed rice with jam trifle)	"widely consumed"	0
NANNAT THEE (pineapple)	0	4 (1 fruit)
PE MYIT (Goa bean roots)	rarely	only once (6 roots)
PALAN PINAN (Tapioca tubers)	7 (50 ticals)	2 (10 ticals)
MON HINGA (bitter curry	4 (50 ticals)	5 (2½ ticals)
KAUKHNYIN BAUNG. (steamed treacle rice)	3 (25 ticals)	Every day (15 ticals)
HEIN MON (wheel-shaped trifle)	3 (20 ticals)	2
PE GYAW (fried peas in meal)	4 (4)	2 (1/4)
MON PYIT SALET ("worthless" cake trifle)	4 (4)	2 (4)
MON KYO LEIN (twisted rope trifle)	5 (6)	4 (6)
MON SEIN BAUNG (steamed raw trifle)	10 (20 ticals)	.2 (20 ticals)
MON OK HNAUK (brain trifle)	2 (15 ticals)	0
MON KYWE THE (cake-buffalo-heart)	.25 (5 ticals)	15 (8 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Camp
HTANYET CHAUNG (jeggery sticks trifle)	0	10 (3)
PE GYI LAAW (roasted big beans trifle)	5 (12½ ticals)	8 (10 ticals)
MAY BE (groundnuts or peanuts)	4 (two condensed milk tins)	2 (4 ticals)
PATTANI (pea seed trifle)	0	.1 (4 annas worth)
PE BYOTE (boiled beans)	every morning (12½ ticals)	every morning (12½ ticals)
THAR GU (sago)	2 (6 saucers)	.4 (6 saucers)
MON LET HSAUNG (trifle made by cooling)	5 (4 cups)	3 (4 cups)
MON LEIT PYAR (Butterfly trifle)	0	6 (20 ticals)
KHAUK MON (trifle folded in half)	0	6 (2)
BU THEE GYAW (fried gourd fruit)	4 (7)	0
NGA PYAW GYAW (fried plantains)	3 (13)	0
ZEE THEE (plum)	4 (2 milk tins)	0
MAYAN THEE AHME (ripe marians)	5 (10)	Almost every day in season (30)
THAYET THEE AHME (ripe mangoes)	5 (10)	.3 6
NGA PYAW THEE (bananas)	5 (13, 1bunch)	5 (1 bunch)
THAGYAR LON (sugar ball candy)	0	8 (2)
CHO CHIN (Sweet-sour candy)	0	3 (6)
KYET HINGA THEE (bitter gourd fruit)	0	3 times only
KYET THUN HYU (garlic)	40 (.9 ticals)	40 (.5 ticals)
MON LAR U (radish)	.25 (6 fruits)	5 (6 fruits)
HIN NU NWE (spinach)	0	once only (2 sprouts)
ZAUNG YA THEE (edges-line-fruit)	.11 (8 ticals)	0

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Item	Food consumed in	
	Patime	Camp
NGA YOTE KAUNG ZE (pepper corn)	.25 (10 corns)	.25 (10 corns)
MONALI leaves	.50 (15 ticals)	once only
NAN NAN (coriander leaves)	20 in season (7½ ticals)	.25 (3 ticals)
HSANWIN (tumeric)	60 (a pinch)	60 (a pinch)
PAZUN DOKE (Crayfish)	4 (35 ticals)	0
HTAN MYIT (Palmyra root)	once only	only once (2 roots)
ADARLUT (arrow root)	.15 (55 ticals)	.5 (2½ ticals)
MINGUT THEE (mangosteen)	once only	0
DURIN THEE (durian)	.25 (1 fruit)	0
LEIN MAW THEE (oranges)	0	3 times only (5 fruits)
NGAPI GYAW (fish-pickle-fried).	50	1.1 (12½ ticals)
NGAPI ANYAR CHET (fish-pickle liquid-cooked)	.25 (25 ticals)	.5 (25 ticals)
NGAPI YE GYO (ngapi with water)	60 (5 ticals)	50 (2½ ticals)
KHAUK HSWE (wheat noodles)	4 (U Myaing) (25 ticals)	once only (25 ticals)
GWE THI (fruit)	1 (1 fruit)	0
ZEE HYU THEE (plum-white-fruit).	.3 (½ mild tin)	.9 (½ milk tin)
MON LON GYI (cake-round-fried)	2 (36 ticals)	0
PE MON HSOT (bean-cake-ball)	.6 (20 ticals)	0
MON BAING DAUNG (cake-shuttle-stick).	.5 (1 milk tin)	0
KOK HSAN (sticky rice dish)	every day in season. (4 milk tins)	0
HSA HMIN MA KIN (foreign expression Burmanised)	.25 (30 ticals)	0
KYAUK PYAN (stone-smooth)	.9 (40 ticals)	0

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Analysis of Food Consumption

Table B.9, gives a rough idea of the food consumption in Pathwe and Camp - summarising the foregoing data. Whatever the degree of absolute accuracy, this data is felt to be especially valuable in giving the relative consumption of items in the two areas. In general, the food pattern of Pathwe was not broken in camp but it was rather severely modified by the dropping of the more expensive and unavailable items and substitution of cheaper, available ones. The direction of the change is clear, the degree and specific nature of the change is discussed below.

Table . Summary incident of use of food items by U Myaing's family

Place and Use of Items	Frequency	Proportion
Items used only in Pathwe	40	31%
Items used only in camp	23	17%
Items used in both places: 1. But more frequently in Pathwe	30	23%
2. But more frequently in camp	24	18%
3. Same frequency in both places	13	10%
Total:	130	99%

These gross figures indicate that only a small proportion of the Pathwe complex (13 items) have remained unchanged, over ⅓ of the Pathwe complex (40 items) have been discarded, and the frequency of use of the rest shifted: 23 new items are added to the camp complex. A drastic change is thus demonstrated although the camp complex has only 17 items less than the Pathwe complex.

The gross idea of the shift in quantity of food used in both Pathwe and camp is gained from the following table:

Table . Variation in quantity of food per meal used at both Pathwe and Camp by U Myaing's family

Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Same amount used in camp as in Pathwe	31	46%
A greater amount used in camp than in Pathwe	6	9%
A lesser amount used in camp than in Pathwe	23	36%

Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Non-comparable items	7	10%
Totals:	67	99%

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This table shows the relatively high proportion of food items that are used in lesser quantities than in Pathwe.

The factor of quality could not be controlled in this survey - and since it was not mentioned by the informants we may assume that it is negligible and may be disregarded.

The type of food in which the changes have taken place, along with the reasons given for the shifts give us a comprehensive picture of what has taken place.

Most of the items which did not change in frequency from Pathwe to camp are staples including : rice, fish juice, sessamum oil, tea leaves, chillies, PE BYOTE beans, firewood, onions, garlic, and tumeric that are used every day. However, the only one of this group to increase in quantity was the rice - due to the growing children. Fish juice consumption dropped ⅓ but was supplemented by the addition of salt for flavouring. Sessamum oil also dropped about the same proportions due to lack of extensive frying. The drop in firewood was supplemented by brush fragments collected around camp. Inexpensive items which were cheaper in Rangoon or just as cheap as Pathwe including onions, garlic, PE BYOTE beans, and tea were maintained at the same level.

The most severe drop was in meats (chicken, duck, beef, pork) which in all were included in approximately half of the meals each month in Pathwe, but were discontinued because they could not be afforded in camp. The fish consumption also dropped to about 1/7 th of what it had been. In Pathwe fish and fish products were free from the INS which U Myaing worked. This deficiency is supplemented to a certain extent by prawns but especially by the inexpensive KALABE or dhall beans which in camp became a staple eaten almost every day. Whereas it was used only occasionally in Pathwe as a food definitely not preferred. A number of inexpensive fruits and vegetables including brinjals, snake gourd, rabbit greens, cucumber, guava fruit, ripe marians, become important in supplementing the camp diet increasing double or more in frequency of use of each case with an increase in quanity per meal that reflects the growing

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capacity of the children. By eating the fruits in season they are secured relatively cheaply and in sufficient quantities.

The greatest part of the food items used in Pathwe but not in camp were specialty dishes and trifles for which substitutions could be made in some cases. Most were missed and desired in varying degree, although they were too expensive in Rangoon or not available. A few, although available, were not purchased because the family "didn't feel like it." A large number of items in this group including the tree leaves and stalks were obtained free in Pathwe, either for the picking or as gifts, and were prepared at home (salting and drying) without cost to the family. Such items (the fish products above are included) accrued to the family because of its situation or position in the village. The food gifts from the government agencies caring for refugees are in a comparable catagory for the family's camp position - but, of course, were staples rather than the specialty items of Pathwe The opportunities for gathering of food ingredients in and around the camp are poor becausethe land is in special (shade , etc.) trees and besides is privately owned. The camp is a good five or ten miles from good gathering areas. As an IN (large trap) fisherman U Myaing is not interested in line fishing even if it were possible to get to fishing areas.

Most of the items used in camp for the first time are trifles often never seen before coming to Rangoon - but quite similar to the trifles used in Pathwe. The consumption of trifles has risen sharply in camp but most go to the younger children. Possibly the sweet tid-bits compensate for the lack of the more satisfying Pathwe diet.

These are much more plentiful in camp and the temptation to spend on trifles, especially to please the children, is great.

A few items (bean-sprouts in prawns, spinach soup) are tried for the first time in camp and not repeated although the ingredients may be cheap. An element of choice still persists in camp although it is greatly restricted by costs.

In general, the data indicates that the Pathwe food pattern was not broken in the camp adjustment but was modified in the direction of simplification in which the more expensive items of the Pathwe diet were

were dropped in favour of cheaper Rangoon products. The new items added to the diet in camp were either similar to those of Pathwe or known before. No real innovations were attempted with success. 262 264 178●

SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES

An attempt will be made under ~~this heading to present~~ some of the major routine activities carried out by U Myaing's family in every day life. Because of the complex nature of the socio-ceremonial activities it will be possible only to outline the more important of these activities. They may be grouped under the headings of (1) activities concerning the family relations, (2) activities relating the family to their community and state and (3) activities relating the family to the supernatural. Wherever possible the Pathwe situation will be compared to that of the refugee camp. 128

Family Relations

Marriage

U Myaing's account of the initial step in the formation of a family is of some interest. When a couple in love have money, they might marry with a proper ceremony; when they do not, they have to elope. U Myaing eloped with his wife. Some people take this course because the parents are not agreeable to the match. Others feel that it takes too much trouble and time to get married with proper ceremony. Others again elope because they do not like the match made for them by parents. U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing gave as reason the point that it took too long and too much trouble to get properly married. Also at that time they could not afford to spend a great deal of money. 583

Some time after elopement there are attempts either on the part of the parents or the elders of the village to effect a reconciliation between the parties concerned. The couple does not usually take the initiative in these proceedings "because the young man is in the position of one who has stolen something from the girl's parents" and consequently has to lie low. The reconciliation takes place through the elders of the village, who approach the parents and request them to take back the young couple. Some couples stay away seven days, some a month, and some a year before rejoining the parental fold. The reconciliation itself is somewhat similar to a wedding ceremony, and

583 food and refreshment might be provided. After this the couple may
[178] put up either at the youth's home or the girl's home.

[185] In modern times there have been very few cases of people from
the villages getting properly married. In the past there used to be
[584] many marriages through the agency of match-makers, but now most people
elope. U Myaing estimates that only about two couples in a hundred
get married first. Daw Aw Zar also eloped with U Myaing's father.
(U Myaing was not very sure of this and so called out the question
to Daw Aw Zar, who replied "Hae-mathi-bcr-bu"; "Hae - I don't know.")
U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing eloped, not because her parents would have
raised any objections, but because it had become the usual thing to
do. Out of all the marriages contracted by members of U Myaing's
extended family (over 60 families), only seven were conducted with
proper rites and ceremonies. These were the wealthy members of the
family who had their status to consider.

584 U Myaing was in love with Ma Aye Myaing for a period extending two years prior to their elopement. He made a practice of visiting her house and of going with her to Pwes and entertainments, in the company of a large group of other people. Her parents never allowed her to go out alone with him. "That is the nature of parents - they will not allow that."

> "Of course there were occasions when we met, just the two of us; but that was more through accident than design. For instance, I used to meet her on the village street. There are men who ask for assignations from girls, but they are men who do not have consideration for the sisters of other men. I am not one of those. When we were ready to elope, I told Ma Aye Myaing that I was coming for her on such and such a night. Some daughters repeat this to their parents, "Mother, I am about to go along with him" and Ma Aye Myaing was one such. I also told my parents."

583 On the appointed night, at about nine or ten o'clock, U Myaing collected nine or ten of the beaus of the locality of help prevent any possible trouble on the part of the jealous suitors from the girl village, made his way to Ma Aye Myaing's house and brought her along with him. An elopement is a joyous affair and U Myaing informs us that he used to often accompany friends when they went to elope with their girls. The girl is taken, either on foot, or by bullock cart if the distance is great, to the youth's village; and if they happen

don't usually talk about these things with them. We invite the phongyis and worship them. We don't talk much with them. They preach the law and the 5 SILAS to us. 181 203

16. Q. Are there any persons of influence in camp who give advise on everyday living? 621

A. Yes, the person of influence is the schoolmaster, U Khant. But he only teaches the children and looks to the general cleanliness of the camp. Another person is the man who teaches the English. But they do not lay down what is right and what is wrong.

Activities of the Family in Relationship to the Supernatural.

The main forces which U Myaing and his family are concerned with are those of the Nats and those of Buddhism. Speaking historically, the Nats seem to represent a remnant of an early form of animism in which the Nats were tree or nature spirits. It is interesting to note the manner in which U Myaing blends the two religious systems. The Nats control earthly happenings, and the Buddhist structure the eternal. We are concerned with identifying some of the major practices, but primarily with the differentiation between religious practices in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. 771 [178]●

Nats.

The problem of the Nats came up in our study by the appearance of a bamboo pole split so as to form a small basket at one end. This object, called a KYAUNG ZAUNG rested on the roof of the camp hut next to U Myaing's. An interview in which Daw Aw Zar (.D.A.Z.) and U Myaing (U.M.) discussed Nats, is given in its entirety below because it reveals the rather vague feelings of "superstition" held of the Nats on the one hand and their potency on the other. 776 782

Q. No. 25 (photograph) is a split bamboo pole with a basket at the top. What is this called and what is it used for?

A. (D.A.Z.) KYAUNG ZAUNG. The thing he took from the roof and photographed? It is called a KYAUNG ZAUNG.
(U.M.) It is called KYAUNG ZAUNG.

Q. How do you use it ?

A. (D.A.Z.) We offer to U SHIN GYI and others. Offerings to Nats. Didn't you hear that big man speak? (To U Myaing).

Q. Who made this object? Who makes them?

A. (D.A.Z.) The people who give the offerings of course.

Q. Do you have to make these when you give offerings?

A. If we give offerings we make them.

orange cloth but he remembered my original order and wanted to make 000
these specialty items. I directed him to some friends who I thought could be interested. He was dressed in a new white shirt, colourful new longyi, a brown cloth topee and leather sandals and looked prosperous and contented. Recently, Ma Aye Myaing had presented him with another baby daughter and both were doing well. I asked him when he was going back to Pathwe. "Yes," he said, "as soon as it is 369
safe to return." Even a considerably higher salary would not persuade 181
him to stay in Rangoon. Here "though the eye is rich, the pocket is poor". U Myaing is well on his way to making a successful adjustment as an urbanite -- but his heart will probably always remain in the village.

CONCLUSION

Summary of Data

The data presented above on the changing standard of living of 511
the Burmese fisherman-refugee family may be briefly summarized as 178
follows: 722
369

__Home__: A change from a large teak wood house personally owned to cramped quarters under the eves of a bamboo hut provided by the refugee camp. This represented a decline to 1/50th of the original home space but only to 1/10th of the original space used for the home vital functions of cooking, eating and sleeping. Home as a spacious area for social activities is replaced by an area used almost exclusively for the vital functions. There are no innovations and the pattern of home is not broken but is greatly contracted close to the minimum requirements.

__Work__: A change from a position as an overseer of a cooperative fishing organization with income from cattle and fish products manufacturing to a day labourer. This represented a severe drop in income and prestige but was not outside of the labouring pattern which U Myaing was familiar with from his youth. It is a return to his basic occupation. The "road back" to position and higher income is being taken - at the present writing (November 1951) U Myaing has been raised to coolie boss of a section of street cleaners. Opportunities for rising in Rangoon are good and the future is once more promising.

__Clothing__: U Myaing is reduced by 72% from his former quantity, and the females of the family by 41%. The social clothing and accoutrement have been sacrificed and the inventory reduced to the garments essential for basic living. Quality of clothing has greatly declined. The process has been one of severe contraction but the pattern has not been broken or innovations substituted.

__Health__: The health of the family appears to be relatively unimpaired by change. However, the medical data necessary to arrive at a reliable analysis could not be secured. The most we can say is that hygenic conditions have not materially altered in the camp situation, and the family is not aware of any radical changes in health. The proximity of modern medical aid in Rangoon is of course a great advantage in any emergencies of which the family is becoming

511 increasingly cognizant.

178 722 369 *Food*: The relative quality of food has remained the same but many expensive items have been discarded. Cheap foods when known previously have been elevated to importance in the camp diet but no previously unknown foods have been accepted - the new trifles which have become popular with the family are close enough in taste to the Pathwe trifles no longer available. Many foods which were secured free in Pathwe now cost money and have been discarded or reduced in quantity. The diet is reduced close to the essentials.

Social and ceremonial activities: The active life in which the family was involved in a small folk community has given way to life in an urban community where the major consideration is gaining a livelihood. But the new life is promising and exciting and retains the basic activities of the village.

Concluding Analysis

121 Some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this particular set of circumstances; also the data suggests hypothesis of wider application to Burmese culture specifically and human societies generally.

183 *Nature of the case:* The case is clearly one of reduction in standard of living where the pattern of living remains unbroken. As such, certain deductions concerning the flexibility of the pattern can be drawn. The general situation is a contraction where items were sloughed-off as the pattern approached a minimum situation. The extreme level beyond which the pattern would have broken and/or the family ceased to exist was not reached. Data on such cases would be most valuable in extending this study. For example, I heard of a case supposedly during the Japanese occupation where a girl became too poor to afford a longyi and had to use gunny-sacks for clothing. The story goes that this girl committed suicide. Also, during the war some families are reported to have been reduced to eating "only rice and ngapi" - apparently the irreducible condition. Data on families expanding economically would also be necessary to carry this type of study in the other direction. U Myaing's case gives data on the flexibility of the Burmese culture pattern under certain circumstances from a median point of average standard of living, to a point near the minimum standard.

183 369 The conditions under which this flexibility was observed were those of a displaced family uprooted from a folk society and replanted in an refugee community within an urban society. As such the case

gives important data on the process of urbanizing villagers - the 183
country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese 369
section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee [178] ●
population will stay in the future.

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The 121
Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of 183
beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy
of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognizes a guiding body
of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws"
of Universe) while emphasizing the particular understandings that
govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws"
of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar
systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive
set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a
mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them
out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they
undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels
as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society.

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be
defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the
standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction
within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the
total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the prac-
tical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society [621]
segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of
U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon [369]
than they were in Pathwe and greatly exceed his original ideas of what
was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernized political
leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations.
The westernized, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the [177]
family.

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese 181
culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the 565
possibilities of his social environment. In Pathwe, he was a fisherman 555
and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at

in spite of its greatness in other directions, from being a great period 172
of Burmese literature. The love of beauty, which is the basis of all 175
literature, had adequate satisfaction in the developed art of architecture. 538
The poets of Pagan wrote their poems in bricks, instead of 341
words, and their pagodas are still famous. When one stands on the shore of the Irrawaddy and looks towards the ruins of Pagan, one is reminded of the delicate beauty of an incomplete poem.[1]

Pagan fell in 1287 as the result of the Tartar onslaught during 175
the time of Kubla Khan, the Scourge of God, and the country broke 779
up into several little States, each attempting to control the others. For 178
the next fifty years, political struggles went on in the capitals, but 538
they failed to disturb the peace of smaller towns and villages. Many
who had grown tired of the strife around the thrones flocked to the [369]
quiet of the village monasteries in order to find peace. Religion went on undiminished, but the learning connected with it decayed, for the royal patronage was lacking. Architecture also decayed because there was no royal support and because the country had become poor. Men turned to literature for its own sake, and during this period Burmese prose and poetry assumed definite forms with fully developed diction, rhythm, rhyme and style.[2]

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[1] Many temples and pagodas of the Pagan period are in an excellent state 175
of preservation and are still in use as places of worship. Scott O'Conner's 172
Mandalay and Other Cities contains fine illustrations of the more famous of 779
these religious buildings. 643

The achievement of the Pagan kings, the 'Temple Builders', is summed up by Harvey thus: 'The legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. If they produced no nation-builder like Simon de Montfort, no lawgiver like Edward I, they unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was æsthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes in great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahminism had strangled it in the land of its birth; in Ceylon its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Pagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge. Vainglorious tyrants built themselves lasting sepulchres, but none of these men has a tomb. . . . These men's magnificence went to glorify their religion, not to deck the tent wherein they camped during this transitory life.'—*History of Burma*, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 103. Since that time, prose and poetry show continuous development. [114]
The full history of Burmese literature still remains unwritten. [538]
However, the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*, a Government publication, [178]

175 538 536* Though prose and poetry had thus assumed definite forms by about the fourteenth, or early fifteenth century, the drama was unknown until very much later. The first real Burmese drama appeared, though it had its origins some decades earlier, only towards the close of the eighteenth century, and during the next hundred years it developed and then decayed. Burmese dramatic literature developed in a historical sequence and in a way essentially similar to that of the Elizabethan drama. But why the similarity? Is it accident? Is it because of the similarity in the geographical isolation of the two countries? Or, is there a definite way in which all dramas have to develop in natural sequence?

2. Sources of Information

● 178 536* The history of Burmese drama can be divided into six stages. First, there is the age of the *Nibhatkhin*, comparable to the English miracle play, ending about 1752. Second, we have, from 1752 to 1819, the period of the interlude[1] (comparable to the English morality and interlude) and the court drama. Third, we have the period of the dramatist, U Kyin U, 1819 to 1853. Fourth, we have the period of the poet, U Pon Nya, 1853 to 1878. Fifth, there is the period of decadence, 1878 to 1886. Sixth, we have the time from [644] 1886 to the present day. As dates are in many cases uncertain in [805] determining the periods I am taking the reigns of various kings. As the drama depended much on the court and the victories and defeats of the king, perhaps I am justified in so doing. In any case, if a date is wrong, it is wrong by not more than two or three years.

175 538 536* The time before 1752 is the most difficult period as far as research is concerned. The centuries that followed the fall of Pagan—the time of internal wars, 1287 to 1531—saw the rise of a vernacular literature, which is found existing in the Empire of 1531 to 1752.[2]

[114] [538] [178] arranges its extracts in more or less chronological order, and therefore gives a good idea of the development. The subject is outside the scope of this work but I mention it to show how late the first appearance of Burmese drama was as compared with other branches of Burmese literature.

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[1] The term 'interlude' is explained in chap. i.

175 [2] Perhaps it will not be out of place to give a short summary of the history. The various small States into which the country broke up after 1287 gave place, after some fifty years of incessant strife, to Ava, the kingdom of the Burmese, and Pegu, that of the Talaings. The small principality of Toungoo under Ava rebelled and conquered the whole of Burma in 1531.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The rise of the *Nibhatkhin* was the result of the rise of the vernacular 175
literature, for then learning had reached the people. But we do 536*
not quite know at what time the *Nibhatkhin* first came into being. 538
According to tradition, the custom of holding religious processions and pageants had existed long before 1752, about which time the interlude and the *Hawsa* (a recitation of a story in verse) came into being, but how long before nobody can tell. However, as it must have taken some time for the vernacular literature to take root, I adopt tentatively 1531 to 1752 as the period of the *Nibhatkhin*.

For the story of the development of the *Nibhatkhin*, I am depen- 173
dent on tradition alone. The tradition of its development from the 178 ●
pageant is quite logical. Moreover, it is general and not confined 536*
to a particular district. I have discussed it with various Burmese [369]
scholars and I have made inquiries in far-away villages, and always 127
I find the same tradition. In some out-of-the-way villages, which the influences that affected the drama at the capital had failed to reach, the development of the *Nibhatkhin* from the pageant was within living memory. Until recently, in such villages, one could even see the *Nibhatkhin* in its various stages of development. One village would be presenting a procession, another a pageant, a third would be staging a fully developed *Nibhatkhin*; in all the villages, their particular practice had been the custom for many years, further development having been checked by the introduction of the drama in its more mature stages by touring troupes of professional actors, and it had continued to exist side by side with the performances of strolling players, just as some miracle plays continued to be presented in certain places in England during the heyday of the Elizabethan

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Under Bayinnaung (1551–81) the whole of Indo-China, the outlying provinces 175
of China, and Manipur owed allegiance to the Burmese king. After his death, the Empire decayed until the ruler of Pegu, who had become independent, defeated the Burmese, and turned Burma into a Talaing Empire in 1752. The Empire was short-lived, for in the same year Alaungpaya rebelled, founded the last Burmese dynasty, and 'Burmanized' the Talaings by force. He and his successors turned Burma into one united kingdom, which with the Shan States, Siam, Manipur, and Assam, formed the Burmese Empire. The period 1752–1819 was the Age of Triumph, a fuller account of which is given in chap. ii.

The Burmese lost Assam, Manipur, and the native provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British in 1824. The rest of Lower Burma fell into British hands in 1852. On 1 January 1886 the whole country was proclaimed a province of the Indian Empire.

173 drama. In 1916 I saw a *Nibhatkhin* at the obscure town of Pauk.
178 For this period, I am greatly indebted to the notes made by my
536* father. They are the results of inquiries and researches spread over
127 a period of forty or fifty years. I realize that to many European
scholars the section on the *Nibhatkhin* must appear conjectural in its
dependence on tradition. My plea is that at present there is nothing
else to depend on.[1]

175 With regard to the interlude, I am on surer ground. Again I
536* depend much on tradition, but it is now tradition supported by
[791] evidence. Besides the general and common tradition, there is the
127 tradition of the spirit mediums and actors, and, as I shall explain, the
tradition of my own family.

647 Professional tradition of the mediums and actors is more reliable
[791] than common tradition because the two professions, especially the
former, are closed fraternities, and as written records were never in use, they handed down the facts regarding the nature and history of their callings by word of mouth. To them oral tradition was as strong as written records. Moreover, their oral tradition can be checked by the stage conventions which exist at the present day. The various stage conventions are considered in Chapter VII.

The tradition in my family[2] begins from about the year 1800. About that time, an officer[3] in the victorious army of King Bodawpaya

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[114] [1] Even Harvey, who wrote his *History of Burma* at Exeter College, Oxford, often accepts oral tradition supported by no other evidence as substantially correct (*History of Burma*, pp. 33, 41, 211, 252, 267, 299). In two instances, pp. 33 and 41, the tradition cited dates back to the eleventh century A.D.

[2] My father is U Pein, District Magistrate, Burma Commission, now retired. In Burma, historical researches and inquiries are often made by administrative officials, as their duties carry them all over the country and to the remotest villages. Messrs Harvey, Stewart, Furnivall—great names in the Burma Research Society—are all officials belonging to the Burma Commission.

[3] He was Maha Minhla Mindin Raza.

I have to cite in this section the full names and official positions of some members of my family because:

1. As the Burmese use no surnames, my name alone would not convey
[551] anything regarding their identity.

2. The service record of the family may perhaps be construed as evidence in favour of the reliability of its tradition. G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 310 where he rejects Fuhrer's statement regarding an inscription because the 'precious slab has never been produced, and in view of Fuhrer's service record its production is essential.'

536* was introduced. The clowns were usually males, though later a
522 female clown-attendant of the princess occasionally appeared. The clown was so popular that he continued to appear as an extra character even when the plays of the great dramatists came to be produced later. He was essentially outside the play. He made up his own part, he invented his own dialogue, and made up his jokes as the play moved along. However, even with the *Nibhatkhin*, he was not allowed to interfere with the movement of the play and its story. He played and joked at the beginning of the first scene when the actual story had not begun, he gave sometimes an outline of the story and its sources, and he gave information regarding the production of the
[516] procession and the play. He was the most privileged person among the actors, for he alone could without offence laugh at, and satirize, all things and all persons.

536* However, the clown was essentially unconnected with the actual
796 story, and soon the actual characters came to be burlesqued. As the
522 devil in the English miracle plays, the villain of the *Nibhatkhin* (in
178 the Birth Stories, the villain was a previous incarnation of Devadat who repeatedly tried to harm the Buddha) became a humorous and popular character. The Burmese love of humour and gentle satire would have turned the whole *Nibhatkhin* into pure farce had not a convention arisen with regard to the presentation of religious characters. The Buddha was never to be represented on the stage. Stories about him up to the time he actually attained Buddhahood could be presented, but no one should impersonate him when he had become the Buddha. It was soon followed by another convention that the character of an *arahat* (saint) should not be presented unless it was absolutely necessary, and then only when the part was to be taken by an able and 'serious' actor, who must be actually keeping a fast on the day and night the *Nibhatkhin* was being presented. As a person keeping a fast has to behave in a dignified manner, that convention prevented the part from being turned into a humorous one.

With all these developments, people did not forget that the *Nibhatkhin* was essentially a religious show presented in connexion with religious festivals, and therefore further development was impossible. The conservatism of the village, the dislike of the amateur actors to be in any way profane or thought to be so, the restricted scope of the stories and the characters, all prevented any further development of the religious drama as such.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

However, the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude came 536 *
into being all the same. It developed out of the equivalent of the 178 ●
English miracle play, but indirectly. The chance of developing the 791
drama was seized by professional actors. To break away from the 554
tradition and the conservatism, persons outside the pale of 'good' society were needed. Spirit dancers were such persons. They worshipped the *nats*[1] and most people looked upon them with fear as being in touch with sinister and unnatural forces. They were outside the religion, and their drunken dances—drunken from wine and ecstacy—were outside the popular conception of moral behaviour. Therefore the new professional actors were drawn from the ranks of the spirit mediums. However, those who took to the new profession were malcontents and failures in their original profession. The increase in the number of the spirit dancers had caused the mediums to form themselves into a fraternity, the entry to which was closely guarded. The economic attractions of spirit dancing tempted people who had no faith in the spirits to become mediums. These factors caused discontent and disunion among the mediums, and within and without the fraternity pseudo-mediums came into being. The advance of education had robbed the *nats* of many worshippers, but most people continued to patronize spirit dancing for mere love of music and dancing. The result was the rise of a class of professional entertainers who danced and sang and played on musical instruments. The new dancers pretended to be mediums and semi-mediums, but their dancing was unconnected with any spirit feast. The rise of this professional dancing was doubtless gradual and must have preceded the *Nibhatkhin*. As early as about the year 1400, two princes and their attendants, when turned out of their palace, earned their living as wandering minstrels and professional dancers, pretending to be spirit worshippers.[2] Because of the very fact that the new dancers were malcontents and failures in their original

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[1] The objects of the spirit worship are the thirty-seven *nats*, all of whom [776]
are more or less of evil character; but there are in addition to these many good *nats* who have little to do with human affairs.

[2] One prince became King Minkaung (1401–22), the other, his brother, [175]
helping him to gain the throne. An attendant became King Mohnyinthadot (1427–40), and the others ministers (G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 96).

The new dancers were mostly men. Men mediums were secondary to [462]
women mediums, and perhaps that was one of the reasons for the discontent among the mediums, and also the reason why the men took to wandering all over the country as dancers.

536* profession of mediums, they could break away also from the tradition
178 and conservatism of the spirit worshippers. They were outside the
791 religion and outside the spirit worship. They were fettered by
554 nothing. They were the only persons who could develop new ideas
with regard to the *Nibhatkhin*. And they were the first to realize the possibilities of the new entertainment. Soon they had developed it into the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude.

536* The professional dancers became actors. People were no longer
178 satisfied with mere dancing and singing, for the *Nibhatkhin* had given
522 them some taste of the dramatic scene. Therefore the dancers in the middle of their entertainment paused and gave a little scene, or rather a one-act play. The male dancer became the hero, the female dancer the heroine, and the other two or three dancers became minor characters. The clown had been long before borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin*, and he became a mimic-dancer attending on the others. For two reasons the scene was always the forest. First, it did not need much stage scenery, as the branch of a tree would be enough to indicate that the action was supposed to be taking place in a forest. Second, the journey through a forest by the hero and heroine made it possible for human beings and fairies, demons and gods, princes and commoners to meet and take part in various adventures and misadventures. Thus the Burmese interlude came into being.

536* Perhaps it is not illogical to wonder whether there was an
744 intermediary stage of development, whether there were plays comparable to the English morality plays, bridging the gap between the *Nibhatkhin* on the one hand and the Burmese interlude on the other. It is of course impossible to be certain with regard to the question, for no Burmese miracle play or interlude has come down to us in writing. I have said[1] that there are oral accounts regarding the *Nibhatkhin* and that entertainment which I have termed the interlude, and also written accounts regarding the latter. But there is absolutely no mention in those accounts of anything which could be termed the Burmese morality play. Yet, I venture to think that there must have been plays comparable to the English moralities. If it should be presumed that the interlude developed directly out of the *Nibhatkhin*, there would be a big gap between the two. I think that the professional actors first gave semi-religious plays in imitation of the *Nibhatkhin*. I think also that there were also plays actually dealing with abstract notions of morality and religion which formed the

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[1] Introduction, pp. 7–10.

536* 178 773 538 While the interlude was developing, the drama, another form of entertainment, was also becoming rapidly popular. The *Hawsa* or the dramatic reading and recital of a Birth Story in verse was becoming the fashion. The *Hawsa* was in dialogue form, and the reciter changed his voice and used dramatic gestures. As I have said, one cannot be certain of many things regarding the interlude, but it seems exceedingly probable that the early interludes were not literary. The actors were unlettered, unpractised in verse composition and only knew the *Jataka* Birth Stories from translations. The *Hawsa*, on the other hand, was a literary work. It was in verse. The reciter was an accomplished verse-writer if not a poet, and when reciting pieces he himself had not written, he invariably put in additions and modifications. He knew Pali and therefore could read the *Jatakas* in the original. Whilst the actor was looked upon as nothing more than a beggar, the reciter was greatly respected. This will perhaps explain why the *Hawsa*, and not the interlude, has come down to us in writing.[1] With all the differences, however, the reciter and the actor were akin to each other, and both contributed much to the rise of the developed play, just as both the dramatic recitations of the epic *Ramayana*, and the open-air performances of its scenes contributed much to the rise of the developed Sanskrit play in India.

536* There is no special term for that entertainment which I have called the interlude. The name *Pya-zat*, which means a play, is vaguely applied to it in common with developed plays, but it is certain that the term came into use only about the time of U Kyin U to denote developed plays. Therefore, I have ventured to name it the interlude, partly because of its similarity to the English interlude, but mainly because it was given in the middle of, or at least subsidiary to, the main entertainment of dancing.

[175] The interlude and the *Hawsa* were at the height of their popularity in 1767 when Siam was conquered. The results of the conquest are considered in Chapter II.

4. SIR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY'S THEORY OF THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF BURMESE DRAMA

536* 114 Sir William Ridgeway, in *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*, considers that the dramas and dramatic dances of those races support his theory regarding Greek tragedy, that it arose

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[1] Some specimens of the *Hawsa* are given in the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*.

536* 1. The impersonation of the *nats* by mediums;

114 2. The true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian historical
174 plays of Rama, presented by puppet players;

3. Drama based on the Indian models, but finding its themes in national history and mythology, intermixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed by puppets and living actors.

●178 I proceed to deal with these three alleged stages.

536* 1. There is no doubt that the impersonation of the *nats* by
114 mediums had, and still has, the element of the dramatic, as I have described. However, it is unreasonable to hold that the impersonation in question was the origin of Burmese drama. Ridgeway puts forward three lines of argument with regard to his theory: (*a*) the worship of the dead and the ritual connected with it have resulted in true dramas in other countries: the impersonation of the *nats* by mediums is a ritual connected with the worship of the dead, and therefore, as in other countries, it has resulted in the rise of a drama; (*b*) the *nat* dances had, and still have, the dramatic element in them; (*c*) the derivation of true Burmese drama from the earliest stages of the drama, the *nat* dances, is proved by the fact that there is a tree in the centre of the 'stage' when a play is being presented. These lines of argument are unsound.

(*a*) Whether the worship of the dead results in drama in other countries is doubtful. We have seen that the view has been controverted as regards Greece and as regards India. Even if it were true of countries around Burma, it would not follow that the theory holds good as regards Burma, for that country has a history and civilization distinctly national because of its geographical barriers.

(*b*) There is no doubt as to the existence of the dramatic element in the *nat* dances. But such an element also existed in the various folk feasts of the Burmese people. Ridgeway has no information regarding them. Though the spirit dances made some contribution to the rise of the drama, they were not mainly responsible, and it could not be said that the drama developed out of those dances. They gave to the country new dances and new dancers, and they developed dancing and music. But the true drama resulted only from the presentation of religious stories by amateurs. The *nat* dancers were essentially professional, and alien to the religious feeling and education that inspired the *Nibhathkhin*. It is true that those professionals later developed the drama, but they did so as professional actors and not as spirit mediums.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Before proceeding any further perhaps I ought to explain what I mean when I speak of the 'origins' of Burmese drama. A great deal of confusion can result through the vagueness of the term 'origins'. By it I mean that point where the drama has taken some definite shape as drama, and not merely as dramatic elements. If we were to consider as origins all prehistoric dramatic elements in the life and customs of the nation, it would lead us nowhere. The worship of the *nats* in some form or other must have been developed by the tribes that first settled in Burma. And as religious ritual leads to music and dancing among primitive people, the worship led to the development of Burmese music and dancing. But we cannot take music and dancing as the origins of drama. No doubt music and dancing are necessary for the rise of a drama, but speech is necessary too, and yet we cannot say that the first attempt of man to express himself was the real origin of drama. It is vital to distinguish mere dramatic elements from true drama. In this connexion, Dr Keith's treatment of the origins of Sanskrit drama is enlightening. Many had contended before him that the Sanskrit drama had its origins in Vedic ritual. Dr Keith, however, rejects the theory. He recognizes the dramatic elements in Vedic ritual, but he recognizes them as such and not as the origins of the drama. No doubt the dramatic elements in the ritual gave some idea of the dramatic to the Indian people, but the drama did not arise out of them. It arose only when the great Indian epics had spread all over the country, for the true origin of the drama was in the recitation of the epics. With regard to Burmese drama, although the elements of the dramatic existed in the worship of the spirits and in various folk customs and folk feasts, the origin of the true drama was in the religious pageants and the *Nibhatkhin*.

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(*c*) Ridgeway puts forward the tree in the middle of the 'stage' as evidence of the fact that the drama developed out of the *nat* worship. He contends that the tree is a symbol of the *nat*, because *nats* live in trees. He quotes from Colonel Yule's account of his embassy to Burma where the latter described a Burmese play in progress. There was no actual stage in those days. The play was given in the centre of an open place or yard, and the space for the actors was marked off. In the centre of that space was a tree. The ambassador inquired as to the purpose of the tree, but he was given a 'somewhat vague answer' that it represented a forest. He was not satisfied and put forward the theory that there must have been some belief connected with the tree, for it was present on all the occasions on which he

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178 witnessed Burmese plays.[1] Ridgeway approves of that theory. He
536* maintains that the tree is symbolic of the worship of the *nats.* In an
114 appendix to the book he quotes a letter from a resident in Burma
(which arrived too late to be discussed in the book itself), describing
some sort of a *nat* ritual where a spirit was supposed to be dwelling in a
[776] tree. However, *nats* are supposed to dwell, not only in trees, but also
[796] in houses, mountains, streams, lakes, on Mount Mayyu, in fact everywhere, and it is extremely unlikely that the tree should have been chosen specially to represent the abode of the *nat*. In all the ritual connected with the worship of the thirty-seven *nats*, the use of a tree does not occur except in the case of the *nat*, U-Yin-Gyi. When offerings are made to him, a wooden representation of a forked branch of a tree is used. But that symbol is used only when that particular spirit alone is being worshipped, i.e. when all the *nats* are being worshipped *en bloc* the symbol is not used. U-Yin-Gyi has no special connexion with the stage, and he is essentially connected with Lower Burma; and Upper Burma, not Lower, was the home of Burmese drama. And what Colonel Yule took to be a vague answer was the true answer. What he saw was an interlude and not a developed play, and, as has been stated, the scene of the interlude was almost always the forest, for it needed nothing except a tree to indicate the scene. Therefore, the tree which the ambassador saw was a piece of stage scenery and nothing more.

536* Though Ridgeway's theory that the drama had its origins in the
795 worship of the *nats*, therefore, is not founded on fact, his contention that the Burmese professional actors are the lineal descendants of the mediums who impersonated the spirits of the dead is not wrong. But the fact that the actors are the descendants of such persons should not mislead us into thinking the drama to be a descendant of spirit worship. There is a great danger of being thus misled if one knows the various stage conventions without knowing the real history of the drama. And had Ridgeway been acquainted with those conventions, which (strangely enough) were not known to him and his informants, he might have been strengthened in his view. The most important of the stage conventions is the *nat* chorus which often acts as a 'curtain-raiser' to the actual play. The chorus composed of females comes out and sings and dances to various *nat*

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[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855.*

tunes played by the orchestra. The chorus was first introduced 536✻
for two reasons: the audience liked a dance, and the actors did not 795
forget that their original calling was that of mediums.

2. According to Ridgeway, the second stage of the drama was 536✻
reached when the 'true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian 178 ●
historical plays of Rama, presented by the puppet players' had 177
entered Burmese drama. The weak points in this theory will be 538
apparent when the further history of the drama is considered in later chapters. The 'true dramatic element' was already in the *Nibhathkhin*, or at least in the interlude; the Indian *Ramayana* coming by way of Siam did influence Burmese drama, but this was possible only because there was already a native drama to absorb this foreign influence. Nor were the *Rama* plays presented at first by puppet players. When the translations and adaptations of the Siamese *Ramayana* were being first presented at court, puppet plays were unknown. Ridgeway puts forward some opinions regarding the Burmese puppet show also, but they will be considered in Chapter VII.

3. According to Ridgeway, the third stage of Burmese drama was reached when there appeared plays 'based on the Indian models, but finding their themes in the national history and mythology, intermixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed by puppets and living actors.' It is true that after the introduction of the Siamese *Rama* play to the Burmese court, plays of the type described appeared, but the plays were by no means modelled on the *Rama* play. The Siamese play gave rise to a native court drama which influenced the interlude and prepared the way for the first great Burmese dramatist, U Kyin U. And the 'Buddhistic elements' which entered the drama have a history of their own. All these points are considered in later chapters.

On the nature and achievements of Burmese drama, Ridgeway 536✻
says: 'The Burmese drama has not remained crystallized as a piece 114
of religious ritual. On the contrary, it has made distinct steps towards the true drama which Thepis in Greece and the forerunners of Marlowe and Shakespeare in England detached from the sacred shrines and lifted into a distinct artistic form. Yet it has not advanced beyond the lyrical stage, consisting of dancing, singing and instruments of music, the undulation of the vocal expression being much more subtle and intense than the expression of features, whilst gesture is restricted to the conventional gestures of the dance. The usual scene is the palace, its inmates the characters, and the drama

536X adheres tenaciously to the tradition of royalty. Hero and heroine
114 are prince and princess, their retinue courtiers, and the countrymen
jester and clown; the king is idealized, his deputies travestied.' In
short, the Burmese drama is narrow in range. These opinions of
Ridgeway are true and just in many respects, but they have also their
weakness. He errs in thinking that Burmese drama is still in the
undeveloped lyrical stage. What he thinks to be an earlier stage is
[178] in reality a later one. Dancing and singing have dominated the
Burmese *pwe* (the public presentation of a play) since the fall of the
kingdom, but that stage was only reached after decadence had set
in in the drama developed so well by U Kyin U and U Pon Nya. What
Mr Taw Sein Kho described in his letter to the Director-General of
the Archæological Survey, what most other informants of Ridgeway
also saw, was Burmese drama in decadence and distortion. The scene of
the drama is not always the palace, though the palace and its inmates
appear almost always in Burmese plays. The forest, village, city and
the common people often appear, though it is true that they are sub-
ordinated to the dramatic interest in the palace and its inmates.
[565] Burmese drama was forced to confine itself in general to the palace,
as in a society where other class distinctions scarcely existed, the king
and his courtiers alone were different from the rest: and, in general,
a Burmese audience wanted characters somewhat different from those
of common life. The same was true of the Elizabethan drama. Though
the 'domestic' drama was popular, the best plays of the Elizabethans
have their scenes in distant lands or in high society. Therefore the
narrowness of its range does not necessarily make out Burmese drama
to be in an early stage of growth. For the sake of completeness, I
have described briefly these aspects of the drama, but they will be
considered in detail in later chapters.

The opinions expressed by Sir William Ridgeway are full of error. The worth of the chapter on Burmese drama in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* consists in this, that it was he who made the first attempt to study the development of Burmese drama scientifically, to compare it with the drama of other countries, and to form an estimate of it according to western standards of criticism. And, erroneous though his views are, it is much to his credit that with the scanty and often misleading information before him he could give such a shrewd estimate of Burmese drama.

644 They themselves took part in the production of *Rama*, though it seems
536* that most of the actors at the Siamese court were professional; but
once the play had been well established in its new home, only professional
actors took part in the actual presentation, for the prejudice
against the actors and the acting profession was strong: 'actors and
[533] beggars, eaters of food thrown away as waste.' Though the play
was reproduced faithfully with all its dramatic qualities, the courtiers
were more interested in the songs, which were new both in tune
and in form. The *Rama* play at once enriched Burmese music and
verse-forms. But the court did not at once realize that a new art
had come. The Burmese equivalent of the English word 'play' was
still uncoined. They called *Rama* a *zat*, a derivative from *Jataka*.
Zat had by then come to mean a story; it could mean any story,
though to distinguish it from a Birth Story, *hto-zat* (made-up *zat*)
was used to denote a non-*Jataka* story. However, *zat* did not include
fables or moral tales or legends and fairy tales. The Burmese interlude
was without a name, and the courtiers realized the world of
difference that lay between the *Nibhatkhin* and the Siamese entertainment.
Therefore, the courtiers just called *Rama* a *zat*; the name
suggested itself as they believed the *Rama* story to be a *Jataka* story.
536* However, when *Aindarwuntha*, the companion play to *Rama* at
● 178 the Siamese court, was later introduced to the Burmese court, the
courtiers coined the term *nan-dwin zat* or 'palace-story', for that
play had nothing to do with the *Jatakas*, and a new name was needed.
When the *Rama* play reached the people, they thought it to be a
specimen of the native *Nibhatkhin* or *Jataka*-shown-as-pageant and
called it *Rama-khin* or *Rama*-shown-as-pageant. It was only when
the native interlude had been moulded into a more developed art
through the influence of the Burmese court drama that the term *pya-zat*
(the equivalent of the English 'play') was introduced. It is of
course impossible to ascertain when and by whom the word was first
coined, but by U Kyin U's days, *pya-zat* or 'shown-story' had passed
into general use.

To return to the court. The play was presented with Siamese
(which were very similar to the Cambodian) dresses and costumes;
644 it was a faithful reproduction of the Siamese model. The introduction
536* of Burmese elements into the play through the professional actors
was prevented by the tradition of rigid faithfulness to the Siamese
model. The Siamese courtier-captives of course discouraged any
interference with the form of their entertainment, which they took to

In characterization, the play is a great advance on Rama
536* and on the Siamese original of *Aindarwuntha*. There, as in the
178 Sanskrit plays, the depiction of character was almost unknown. Rama was the perfect hero, Sita a lifeless damsel, Ravana a boastful villain. In Myawaddi's *Eenaung* the hero is shown to be full of faults, otherwise he is still lifeless and uninteresting as Rama. However, the characters of the women, the various loves of the prince, are well portrayed. True, the women pass swiftly through the play, often the interesting heroine never appears again after but one scene, and there is no character development; but the play is a rich portrait gallery where we see live women, who must have laughed and sorrowed at the court. The Sanskrit plays were written by men who did not or could not write of the miseries women suffered at the court, as the king's wives. They wrote from the point of view of men, and they would have it that to be the king's beloved was to reach the limits of womanly happiness. The Siamese court drama followed the Sanskrit
[644] in this respect. In *Eenaung*, however, we have a young courtier sympathizing with the women of the court, gently satirizing the king and showing up the disadvantages of being the king's love. The sorrows and laughter of the court maidens are well shown. Gentle satire, pathos, and light comedy keep the play alive.

The contribution made by *Eenaung* to the development of Burmese drama was no less in importance than that made by *Rama*. Of course *Eenaung* itself owed a great deal to *Rama*, but without Myawaddi's play, it seems rather doubtful that *Rama* could have done so much for Burmese drama, for the interest in human psychology and character, so essential to good drama, was absent in *Rama*. Moreover, *Eenaung* taught the Court to break away from the Siamese tradition and to develop a native drama with borrowings from and imitations of the Siamese court drama. Because many of the incidents in the play were invented by the author and not borrowed from the original Siamese court romance, it also pointed out the possibilities of an invented story as the subject of a play. In short, Myawaddi paved the way for the coming of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya.

Eenaung at once inspired others to imitate it. Many plays modelled on it were written by courtiers and produced at court. Although, unfortunately, none of these plays has come down to us, extracts in the form of dramatic speeches and songs have come down, and from those we can be certain that many of the court plays were not much
[562] inferior to that of the Minister Myawaddi. The most famous of the imitators was the Lady Khin Sôn, herself a scholar and poet of much

536* 178 ● renown, whose literary works were worthy rivals in popularity to those of Myawaddi.[1] The native court plays were so popular that even *Rama* soon fell under their sway. Through their influence, the tradition of rigidly following the Siamese version was broken and destroyed, and adaptations of *Rama* in the style of *Eenaung* came to be presented at the Burmese court.

5. The Court Drama Reaches the People

536* 178 The latter half of Bodawpaya's reign saw the court drama becoming national instead of being confined to the narrow limits of the palace. The national interest in the drama was now so great that the king had to create a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister greatly developed the puppet-show, which is described in a later chapter. The drama became a regular entertainment at the court, and a dramatic performance in the palace came to be looked upon as a semi-State function. Not only was the drama now looked upon as a national entertainment at the court, but the court drama itself was being spread all over the country through governors and administrative officials imitating the court and holding little dramatic performances of their own. The greatest gift the court performances gave to the acting profession was to raise its status. The actors were still looked upon with prejudice as being nothing more than beggars, but they were no longer considered as being only a little better than rogues and vagabonds. Many travelling companies also came to be looked upon with less disfavour, for they would style themselves 'the King's actors' or 'those who had acted before such-and-such a minister on such-and-such an occasion'. For their ability many actors were given rewards of money and some sort of decoration, which might be a medal or a special dress, and these the actors would wear during their performances with great pride. The Burmese actors of the period were very much in the same position as those acting companies

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562 644 101 [1] The fact that the Lady Khin Sôn was the rival of Myawaddi in the literary circles of the court, reflects the difference in character, as far as women were concerned, between the Burmese and most other oriental courts. Burmese women have enjoyed equal rights with men from prehistoric times: 'when greater races bound the feet or veiled the faces of their women, or doubted if she had a soul, the Burmese held her free and enthroned her as chieftainess and queen' (Harvey). Perhaps this difference in the atmosphere of the court had much to do with the sympathetic portrayal of women by Myawaddi in his *Eenaung*. In India, the fact that women were given an inferior social position is reflected in the absence of Sanskrit plays by women.

536* who put themselves under the patronage and protection of some noble
● 178 lord in Elizabethan England.

536* 538 178 Though the various plays presented at court were performed all over the country in little towns and little courts, the *Rama* play alone reached the remotest corners of the country, and it alone took root in the hearts of the people. What they wanted was action, and of the court plays, only *Rama* could satisfy the desire for action. The original Siamese version had been dead for some time even at court, and what the people saw were adaptations, which contained elements borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin* and the interlude. The story was shortened, many of the palace-scenes cut out, romantic love-scenes between Rama and Sita put in, and the demon king became a comic villain, whom everyone laughed at and liked. The villain as a popular comic character was borrowed straight from the *Nibhatkhin* and the interlude, where the Burmese equivalent of the devil in the English miracle plays, kept the audience in roars of laughter.

There was another important reason why the *Rama* play was so popular, and why the play became more and more Burmese. Under King Singu, while the court contented itself with the Siamese version, a poet outside the court circle broke completely away from the Siamese tradition and recast the story in a purely native form. U Toe, who became famous among the people under Singu and who was given official rewards and recognition under Bodawpaya, was termed the 'Great Master of the *Yagan*'. The *Yagan* is a romance in verse. It probably developed out of the *Hawsa*, a dramatic recitation of a story, but in the *Yagan* the dramatic element is subordinated to poetic description. The most famous of U Toe's *Yagans* was the *Rama-yagan*. In the history of Burmese poetry it enjoys a very important place. It is famous for the clearness and beauty of the language, for beautifully coined words and for richness in imagery. He may be termed the Burmese 'poet's poet' because his language inspired other poets to imitate his style. The *Rama-yagan* was studied by his courtier-contemporaries although he was outside the court; and imitations of his style are found in the works of Burmese authors, including U Pon Nya and authors of the present day.[1]

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[1] An admirable account (in Burmese) of the importance of the *Rama-yagan* in Burmese literature and its influence on U Pon Nya is given in U Po Kya's *The Water-seller's Play of U Pon Nya*, a textbook of the Council of National Education.

However, what concerns us here is his treatment of the story. He does not treat the story as an epic but as a romance. He follows the Siamese version as far as the main incidents of the story are concerned, but his scenes and characters are Burmese, and the life reflected in the poem is the life of the Burmese people in his day. For example, he describes in detail the various festivities on the occasion of Rama's marriage to Sita, and the scene U Toe describes must have been common in the life of the people: 536 * 538 178 ●

> From the dawning of the day, music and dancing did not stop, and silence was banished for long. Acrobats climbed poles, jumped through loops, balanced themselves on ropes, and people threw up their swords in the air and caught them in their hands again, so pleased they were. Drums said, 'Bain, bain, bain!' and the master of drums shouted, 'We are the makers of noise'. Dancers danced and drums played so loud that every person who had a good arm raised it in a dance. Noise, laughter, shouting, music, the feast was an occasion for shows wondrous and entertaining. [539] *

The love-scenes between Rama and Sita are no doubt taken from the life of many a Burmese man and maid. In portraying his characters, U Toe makes them more human and nearer to the life of the people. They are princes and princesses, but they are shown to have all the passion and sorrow and laughter of ordinary persons. In describing the characters, he uses terms applicable to the common people, and not to ladies and lords. In describing Sita, he calls her *lonma-galay* or 'little maid', a colloquial term used among the people and not at the court:

> Her voice was clear and bell-like, as lovely to hear as music. She could use a crying tone, begging tone, musical tone. Oh, my hand is shaking with desire to imitate her voice on my harp. Little maid, little girl, how beautiful you were! [539] *

Throughout the poem there is an undercurrent of gentle satire and humour.

The poem of U Toe was read throughout the country and prepared and taught the people to appreciate the *Rama* play. It taught the professional actors to put more life, more realism into the play. The result was the rise of a national drama, where the elements of the *Nibhatkhin*, the interlude, and the court drama were combined and mixed. Everywhere there were theatrical shows, and the actors and dramatists struggled and experimented. It is unfortunate that none of the plays of those dramatists that entertained the people has come down to us. As they were experimental and unfinished, no one

536* 538 178 ● thought of writing them down and preserving them. But there are accounts describing the dramatic performances of the period, and in the dramatic works of U Kyin U we find echoes of those early plays.[1] Therefore, we at least know that a national drama came into being towards the end of Bodawpaya's reign. It is interesting to note that the rise of a real national drama coincided with fresh conquests by the Burmese. Arakan and Assam fell into Burmese hands under this king.

538 178 644 With the rise of a more realistic national drama, the artificial drama of the court must naturally decay. Already the court drama itself was becoming less artificial, as we have seen, even in the hands of the court dramatists. But their plays, though far more realistic than the translation of the *Rama* play, were still artificial. Adaptations of *Rama* performed at the court were the beginnings of the decay. The decay was furthered by the popularity of U Toe's poem at Bodawpaya's court. It was read again and again by the author before the king. From such readings the court no doubt gradually went over to the national and more realistic drama, and it is perhaps legitimate to assume that plays presented at court in the closing years of the reign were mostly people's plays. The ascension of Bagyidaw to the throne in 1819 on the death of his royal grandfather destroyed finally the court drama, for his queen was of low origin, coarse, uneducated; and learned lords and ladies, poets and scholars, shunned the court. And it was in Bagyidaw's reign that the age of triumph ended with the annexation in 1824 of two of the three maritime provinces of Burma by the British. Under his descendant Mindon, who became king in 1853, the learned atmosphere of the court was fully restored, and U Pon Nya wrote his plays and produced them at court. But as his plays did not differ much from, and were dependent on, the people's drama of his day, he did not in any way revive that special court drama which entertained the Minister Myawaddi and his fellow-courtiers.

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[1] The indebtedness of U Kyin U to his precursors is considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

U KYIN U

1. THE FURTHER HISTORY OF THE INTERLUDE

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WHEN U Kyin U started writing his plays, he was not turning the interlude into a real play. The work had been done before him. It is impossible to determine, however, at what precise point the interlude became a proper play; at what time the dancer-actors ceased to give a play as a side-issue in the midst of their main entertainment of dancing and singing. The interlude, on being influenced by the court plays, became longer and more elaborate, and gradually the interlude ceased to be an interlude and came to be the main entertainment given by the professional dancer-actors. In fact, dancing and singing became less and less important until they disappeared from the play. In U Kyin U's plays, we find no dances, and only in *Daywagonban* do we find some songs. The interlude was further developed by becoming closely connected again with the *Jatakas*.

We have seen how the interlude came into being, how it borrowed freely from the *Nibhatkhin* based on a Buddhist Birth Story, and how it was influenced and developed by the *Rama* play and the Burmese court plays. From the beginning the interlude was not fully religious, though the stories were *Jataka* stories and there was some undercurrent of religious teaching; nor was it fully secular. The court plays secularized the drama in that stories unconnected with the *Jatakas* were introduced. There was still some religious atmosphere in *Rama* because the play was taken to be founded entirely on a *Jataka*, but other court plays had no reference, direct or otherwise, to the religion. The interlude, on being influenced by the court plays, broke up its connexion with the *Jataka* stories. However, it soon went back to the Birth Stories for inspiration. There were many reasons for that return. The prejudice against secular dancing and acting as being sinful still remained strong, and the only way to overcome it was to retain the idea that the interlude preached the religion in some ways. The more common occasions for the presentation

536* of the interlude were religious feast days, and out of respect for those
771 occasions, the story had to be religious. Moreover, the interlude had
to contend with the *Hawsa* or dramatic recitation by one person of a
●178 story, which was a rival in popularity; and all *Hawsas* were based on
[538] religious stories. However, the most important reason why the
interlude had to depend again on the *Jatakas* for its stories was the
great popularity of the works of U Awbatha.

538 Shin U Awbatha was a monk who lived during the reigns of
178 Bodawpaya (1782–1819) and Bagyidaw (1819–37). He was a product
195 of the age of learning. Famed for his piety, religious learning, and
knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, he chose, like his contemporaries, to
[192] write in Burmese, and he enriched Burmese prose. The prose before
him had been much neglected. The scholars were more interested in verse. When they did write prose, they never succeeded in forgetting that they were essentially verse-writers, and they used rhymed, balanced, and measured phrases. They used too rich an imagery. They broke into verse when they wanted to express any intensity of feeling. Often they introduced Pali words into their writings when there were more suitable Burmese ones. Burmese prose before U Awbatha was in the same position as English prose before Dryden. U Awbatha introduced a prose which was expressive and clear, simple yet effective. It was used to convey varieties of feelings and emotions, but it was always kept restrained and was never allowed to lose its
[871] clearness. His works are still well known and popular. The
importance of U Awbatha to Burmese language and literature can be judged from the fact that from the junior forms to the Honours course in Burmese at Rangoon University, his books are textbooks.[1]

538 There are hundreds of Birth Stories, but the most important
178 are the *Ten Big Jatakas*. They are much longer than the rest.
U Awbatha wrote Burmese prose versions of the eight longest of those. He followed closely the Pali originals as far as the incidents of the stories were concerned, but he portrayed character in detail, and made the characters more lifelike and therefore more interesting. The story was very well retold, but he was equally masterful in the portrayal of character and in his understanding of human psychology.

He wrote his first *Jataka* in 1785 when Burmese arms were flashing victorious in Assam and Manipur, but vainglorious references to contemporary events found no place in his works. In the peaceful

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[1] A short account of U Awbatha is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 269.

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atmosphere of a secluded monastery on the outskirts of the little 538
town of Minbu, were the works composed. U Awbatha concerned 178
himself, not with fleeting victories and events, but with the essential characteristics and emotions of human beings. Therefore, at the present day when few remember the victors and victories of the age of triumph, all read and enjoy the works of the learned monk. Though his first *Jataka* was composed in 1785, his works did not reach the height of their popularity until about 1800 when the interlude had been influenced by the court plays. The popularity of the *Jataka* stories of U Awbatha made the precursors of U Kyin U go back to the Birth Stories for inspiration. Though many such stories were presented on the stage, the interludes of the period dealt mostly with the eight made popular by the monk. Apart from the fact that the public probably demanded interludes based on these, the various scenes and characters in U Awbatha's works were good material for dramatization. Moreover, the fact that the stories were well known to the audience made it possible for the dramatists to take only the central events of the stories, leaving out minor and less dramatic scenes. Through that knowledge, too, dramatic irony resulted.

Though U Awbatha never had any interest in the drama of his day, he indirectly saved Burmese drama from sinking into mere bombastic and rhetorical dramatic performances. The national victories and the resulting increase of martial spirit could easily have caused Burmese drama to fall away from the promising beginnings and early development through the influence of *Rama* and the court plays; Burmese plays could easily have become similar to the military plays of China, in which heroes and villains did nothing but fight, and one glorious victory followed another, to the worst Elizabethan chronicle plays and to the worst heroic plays of the
Restoration. U Awbatha's works taught the interlude to concern 536*
itself more with the portrayal and study of character and to keep the 538
presentation of heroic deeds and vainglorious speeches under control. 178
He came in time. The *Rama* play favoured rhetorical rants and heroic deeds. The Minister Myawaddi did much to create an interest in the study of character and to put the drama nearer to real life. But *Rama* was so popular, and the national victories continued to come one after another so rapidly that the minister's influence on the interlude was being undermined. We have no example of the interlude of the period, but from stage tradition, contemporary references, and the echoes of it in the plays of U Kyin U, we can

536* 538 178 guess that the interlude was rapidly becoming heroic when the popularity of U Awbatha's works showed it the way to better things.

The return of the interlude to the fold of the *Jataka* did in no way make the drama suffer. The range was not narrowed, because the Birth Stories were numerous and they were concerned with all classes of society and all classes of events. The *Jataka* was a developed art. Some of the stories existed in India long before the time of the Buddha and therefore they were artistically finished through retelling by generation after generation. In short, the *Jataka* was an artistic and finished short story. It was religious and it concerned itself with a moral, but the moral suggested itself and was not pointed out; the artistic qualities of the *Jataka* did not suffer because it was never pointedly didactic. Moreover, a *Jataka* contained always some interpretation of life, a view of life from a different standpoint. Therefore the interlude gained by returning to the Birth Stories for its themes.[1]

2. THE LIFE OF U KYIN U

536* The existing accounts regarding the life of U Kyin U are very meagre. Even those were obtained only through painstaking research by the learned editors of the Burma Research Society's editions of his two plays, *Parpahein* and *Daywagonban*.

U Kyin U lived during the reigns of Bagyidaw (1819–37) Tharrawaddy (1837–46) and Pagan (1846–53). The exact dates of his life and writings are not known. He was a native of the little town of Sinbaungwe, but he migrated to the capital where he wrote his works, returning to his native town when he had retired from active literary and dramatic life. He was learned and knew Pali, Burmese literature, Burmese history and probably Siamese; at least he knew the Siamese court drama well. He probably first won fame as a writer of songs and speeches for characters on the stage, and in later life a collection of these was published. After he had thus won fame, he probably either set up a troupe of actors of his own or was engaged by such a troupe as its official dramatist; in any case, he was connected with the acting profession and the stage, and he wrote his plays in outline only, many scenes being left to be filled in later when the plays were being presented, very probably under his direction; his plays were merely stage copies and were not intended to be read. He won fame as dramatist

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[1] For this section, I am greatly indebted to my sister's M.A. thesis at Rangoon University, entitled *The Jatakas in Burma*.

and hermits who became so only to earn an easy living, but the satire 536* is not bitter, for those vagabonds were quite harmless and amusing, at least in those days. The second scene is pure pathos. The pathos begins with the god and goddess speaking about the pathetic misfortunes and sufferings of Ma-di and the children, and it gradually increases in intensity, until the climax is reached when the princess faints, and Waythandaya weeps with her in his arms. U Pon Nya makes them entirely human, and in their sorrow, they behave and suffer the same as ordinary men and women, although they are prince and princess, and intensely religious. The third scene returns to humour, but the humour is restrained, as otherwise it might interfere with the course of the main action in the scene. The comic spirit of the play is finely conceived, and also original, for U Pon Nya rejects stock types of comic characters and does not even raise a smile for his Zuzaka.

To the critics of the decadent period, *Waythandaya* was U Pon 536* Nya's masterpiece as far as dramatic technique alone was concerned. 178 ● They held that the play conformed to the rules of their own drama. The conformity is there, but it is not surprising, for the imitation of this play and *Wizaya* by dramatists less gifted than U Pon Nya, contributed much to the rise of the decadent drama. This topic is discussed in the next section, and also in the chapter on the decadent period.[1]

7. The Characteristics and Achievement of U Pon Nya

Since U Pon Nya established himself as a great dramatist through 536* the composition of *The Water-seller*, it has been the custom of Burmese critics to compare and contrast him with U Kyin U, invariably supposing them to represent two entirely different types of the drama. Doubtless there is an essential difference between the two, but it must not be forgotten that the history of Burmese drama shows a continuous development, and that U Pon Nya was the heir of U Kyin U's experiments and achievements. However, the best way to appreciate their qualities is to compare and contrast them.

U Pon Nya was a courtier, and he wrote his plays primarily for production at court, but he did not in any way revive the old court drama as established by the *Rama* play and its imitators, nor did he introduce a new court drama comparable to the old. Since the final fusion of the court drama and the 'people's' drama by the time of

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[1] An extract from the play is given in appendix ix.

Mahaw, where the leader of Mahaw's men and a woman attendant on 536* the queen-mother quarrelled and argued and hurled insults at each other. It is likely that that realistic and humorous scene taught 536 U Pon Nya something. As he was very famous as a writer of humorous 522 satires against various types of people, humorous satire naturally comes into some of his plays. In *Waythandaya* the roguish but rather charming hermits who lived on the credulity of simple villagers are well satirized. In *Kawthala* the goatherd is a typical countryman of U Pon Nya's time, good-natured, humorous, indulging in ribald jokes, easygoing, yet at the back of it all, having a shrewd common sense and the utmost loyalty. U Pon Nya has often been criticized for the coarse jokes of his goatherd, but his love of realism and his interest in all types of human character, make him portray the goatherd as he was in real life. It will be out of place to dwell on the humour, satire, and realism of U Pon Nya in his non-dramatic works, but as they are echoed in his plays, perhaps it is essential to give some idea of what he is like in his other works: he is there comparable to Chaucer of the *Canterbury Tales* and the goatherd is but an example of his many creations who are akin to the miller and his quarrelsome companions. The humour of U Pon Nya is said to detract from the artistic unity of his plays. Doubtless, humour is dangerous in Burmese drama, in view of the actor's and the audience's love of laughter, often uncontrolled. U Kyin U did not indulge in humorous scenes or characters, though the interlude had been given to broad humour, perhaps because he thought that the artistry and seriousness of the drama were in danger of being lost in cheap farce. And in the decadent period the uncontrolled use [U78] of humour does destroy the artistry of the plays. But U Pon Nya keeps his humour under control, and often through it he increases the artistry of his plays *Kawthala* has no unity, but the fault is not with the goatherd; in fact, one of the chief reasons why that play is at all interesting, is the existence of that character. In *Waythandaya* the humorous first scene has no direct connexion with the main action, but it stands as a contrast to the second scene, where pathos is the chief note. Again in the third scene U Pon Nya uses humour, but he keeps it under control so as to prevent it from interfering with the events connected with the main action. The failure by the decadent dramatists, who imitate his humorous scenes, encouraged to do so by their great popularity with the audience, to equal or even approach anywhere near U Pon Nya, emphasizes his greatness as a humorist. His humour is

536* action. The main action is the grief and suffering of Ma-di, and that is shown only in the second scene, the other two scenes being used as a foil to the central scene. U Pon Nya seems to think that, though the first scene is not directly connected with the story, and though the third scene has little to do with the portrayal of Ma-di's character, they contribute to the main action in that they stand in contrast to it, and therefore help to heighten its effect. However, the result is not so artistic, and the play, in spite of its two 'unities', does not equal *The Water-seller* as a work of art. It has none the less some effect of completeness and artistry. U Pon Nya's love of, and mastery in, building up his play into a well-balanced structure of three parts, a central part with two wings, help to heighten the artistic effect. In *The Water-seller*, as has been already pointed out, the man is the central part with the king and the woman water-seller as wings, and in the final scene, at first, the king and the prince stand as the central structure, while on one side are male courtiers and on the other the princess and her ladies, and later, the empty middle-stage is the centre, with the king and courtiers on one side, and the water-sellers on the other. In *Waythandaya* the first scene and the last, both humorous, stand as wings to the second central scene of pathos. Again, the later dramatists fail to understand the essential qualities of *Waythandaya*, and they take it to mean that U Pon Nya's conception of the technique of a play is that humorous scenes and scenes of pathos should follow each other in turn, with the result that most decadent plays are mere collections of pathetic and humorous scenes, without any real connexion between them. It is ironical that imitation of U Pon Nya, who fully achieves U Kyin U's ideal of plot construction and perfection of form in *The Water-seller* and who nearly repeats the success in *Waythandaya*, should result in the decadent period of the drama.

536* ● 178 U Pon Nya's plays belonged to an epoch lasting for about twenty years in Burmese history, when the kingdom gave a final flicker before permanent extinction. The years that followed U Kyin U were of gloom. The hopes of winning back the provinces lost to the British in 1824 were destroyed by the realization of the might of Britain, by the madness of the able king, Tharrawaddy (1837–47), and by the incompetence of his successor, Pagan (1847–53). The country suffered another disaster in 1852 when, through the king's fault, more provinces fell into British hands. During that period the drama was greatly neglected. In 1853 Mindon, who later

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became the patron of U Pon Nya, rebelled successfully against his brother Pagan, and there came into being a promise of better times. He built a new capital, Mandalay, with wide streets and pleasant squares, and his wisdom and statesmanship won him the love of his people and the respect of the British. There was again an understanding between the court and the people, and the court became once more the centre of learning, after the lapse of some fifty years. Treaties of friendship between Burma and Britain and the personal affection the king had for Queen Victoria seemed to assure lasting peace to the country.[1] Dreams of a mighty empire, reflected in the heroic interludes, and to some extent in U Kyin U, were abandoned for ever. Peace and contentment were the keynote of the period, and there entered the drama, restored to the forefront by U Pon Nya, an atmosphere of calm, as opposed to that of strife in U Kyin U. Even in *Wizaya* that calmness prevailed. The epoch ended with the execution of U Pon Nya and the rebellion of Myingun, which caused the death of the heir to the throne, the ablest soldiers, the wisest statesmen, and the most learned scholars of the day, leaving the king alone to rule a country wrapped in gloom and a people torn into different factions over the pressing and difficult problem of succession.

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U Pon Nya followed U Kyin U in expressing political opinions in his plays, but he went further and used the drama as a political weapon. In *Paduma* he attacked those ladies of the court who had not shown enough respect or patronage to him, and he was so successful that he became a power in the land. The king, the crown prince, and the chief queen realized this, and they used *The Waterseller* to announce to the people, who were secretly getting ready for a civil war, that the threatened rupture between the brothers, king and prince, happily, would not materialize. Even after its author's death, the play was once specially performed at court, to test opinion with regard to the king's plan to appoint an able prince, who was far removed from the line of succession, as heir to the throne. In the middle of the performance, a senior prince said: 'If father wants to

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[1] One of the most prized possessions of King Mindon was a gold watch which Queen Victoria had presented him, and which he always wore. During the Indian Mutiny, in spite of temptation, he remained friendly and even sent help to the British, saying that he would never 'strike a friend in trouble'. Cf. G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, school edition: the ordinary edition gives the history up to 1824 only.

536* 535 appear at all, and the song had lost its importance to such an extent that only one scene in all his plays had songs, which was in *Daywagonban*, where the hermit and the two princesses spoke to each other in songs. Though U Pon Nya was a great writer of songs, not one appeared in his plays. These great dramatists, through their brilliance, made the audience interested in the play alone, and the professional actors had no choice but to follow the dictates of the famous playwrights. After U Pon Nya, through lack of interest in true drama and because there were no able dramatists, the drama fell again into the hands of the professional actors, who had always considered themselves dancers and singers. They continued to present the great plays and their imitations, but only as frameworks for their songs and dances. We shall see later that after the final flicker of the drama during the years 1877–86 it perished in the hands of the actors with their interest in song and dance.

536* 541 ● 178 [177] The people themselves wanted song and dance. They wanted an entertainment pleasing to the eye and the ear, without taxing the brain. They wanted an escape from the realities of life, because they were weary of the present and anxious for the future, as they knew not what dreadful events the next few months would bring. They wanted new dances and new tunes, and they applauded elaborate dresses and brilliantly staged scenes; and the actors could give them what they wanted as, through the influence of English and French touring companies, the stage scenery and devices had developed by leaps and bounds.[1] They demanded both laughter and tears, but as they desired the drama to appeal only to their senses and not to the intellect, what they really wished for and received were farce and sentimental pathos. The spirit of the audience had changed since the days of the great dramatists. The drama came into being in the age of triumph, when the attitude of the audience towards life was one of serenity and optimism. During U Kyin U's time, disaster, in the shape of the loss of provinces to the British, had overtaken the country, but there seemed to be a promise of better times, and therefore the spirit of the nation was still serene. When U Pon Nya wrote his plays, more provinces had been lost to the British, but again there was a promise of better times, and the spirit of the audience remained calm and serene. But after U Pon Nya, the spirit was one of despair and anxiety.

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[1] The development of the stage is considered in detail in chap. vii.

Upper Burma
Lower Burma

So for about a decade after the death of U Pon Nya, the drama 536*
decayed and was left entirely in the hands of actors. And in Upper 178
Burma, the real home of the drama, it never recovered from their -101
influence. True, some scholars in the quiet of a monastery wrote many
a play, retelling a religious story, but their plays were never meant to
be presented on the stage, nor did they follow the established dramatic
traditions. They were merely scholarly exercises, and though many
contained masterly prose and poetry, they did not really belong to the
true drama, for they were plays only in name.[1] In Lower Burma,
however, scholars again assumed control of the drama, though they
had to comply with the desires of the actors in many matters. The
change in the venue of Burmese drama is significant. Rangoon, the
capital of British Burma, and not Mandalay, the national capital, was
now the centre of dramatic development. The reasons for the change
were many. The court was the centre of political intrigues and the
drama could no longer look to it for development. Upper Burma was in
a hopeless condition, and it never recovered until some years after the
completion of the British conquest in 1886. In Lower Burma, on the 668
other hand, by about 1875, the benefits of a developed commerce were 178
seen, and after a few years of transition, prosperity was return- 536*
ing. There was peace and stability of government. The spirit
of the people in Lower Burma was no longer of anxiety and despair.
But it was not one of great serenity, for they realized that Upper
Burma would soon fall into British hands, and the Burmese would
never again have a kingdom of their own. There was intense regret,
and the Burmese Crown, from which the past greatness of the nation
had flowed, came to be looked upon with great sentimentality. True,
the court in Upper Burma was in a disgraceful condition, especially
since the death of Mindon and the accession of his son, Theebaw
(1875–86), but that very deterioration, by contrast, enhanced the
sentimental respect for the past glories of the throne. The drama
therefore was used to present scenes of great splendour, in which
court manners and customs were shown to an audience who, having
come under an alien rule since 1824, knew their national court only
from hearsay. That was why sentimentality and spectacle continued to
dominate the drama, even though conditions had improved enough

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[1] Some plays of this type, printed in Lower Burma, are preserved in the British Museum, e.g. *Thuwana-thama* and *Maha Zanaka*, both by monks and founded on U Awbatha's *Jatakas* of the same names. Many of these plays are still obtainable in Burma. [114]

668 178 536* [213] [177] for scholars to rehandle it. The introduction of cheap printing in Lower Burma was of the utmost importance to the drama. Printing had been known to the Burmese long before the British administered Lower Burma, but it was an expensive and laborious affair. The British introduced cheap and efficient printing presses, worked by cheap but skilled Indian labour. Once the stage of transition had been completed and economic prosperity had returned, printing spread all over Lower Burma and widened the circle of admirers of the drama, encouraged the study of the great plays in their original form as distinct from the modified versions of the professional actors, and created a public eager not only to see but also to read plays. As a result of these various causes scholars began writing plays again after 1875, but their efforts were not very successful until Saya Yaw in 1877 wrote and produced his *History of Thaton*.

2. *The History of Thaton*

536* Saya Yaw's story is remarkably original. In order that the question of succession should be settled beforehand, the young king of Thaton is advised by his ministers to take a consort without delay, and he promises to consider the matter. In the next scene, a brother and sister, belonging to a semi-civilized tribe on a neighbouring mountain, are entering the city to seek employment, for they have been starving since the death of their parents. The scene shifts to the centre of the city, where a rich nobleman and his wife are quarrelling and blaming each other, because they have no children to inherit their wealth. The characters are comic, and the scene is humorous. As they stand shouting at each other, the brother and sister pass by, and they are struck by the girl's beauty and the young man's nobility of bearing. When they discover that the strangers are without parents and are looking for employment, they, in great [563] joy, adopt them as son and daughter. In the next scene, merchants from the Shan hills arrive at the city, singing and dancing their own songs and dances. They soon dispose of their wares, and they are making preparations to leave when the brother arrives. He becomes friendly with the merchants, and after listening to their tales of romance and adventure in their hills, he decides to accompany them to their home. He asks permission to go from his foster-parents and his sister, who reluctantly let him go. The foster-parents cry, and the brother and sister bid farewell to each other in songs of great tenderness. In the next scene, the chieftain of a Shan state is sorely

U Pon Nya had many comic scenes which were mostly in prose, 536 *
but not always. He was so fond of rhyme that he often used it in his 538
prose. As his verse often had seven or eight syllables in one line, and as his prose contained rhymes, sometimes it was difficult to say whether a passage was in prose or in verse. *The Water-seller* was mostly in that half-prose, half-verse style. The decadent dramatists retain the four-syllabled verse, but following U Pon Nya, they use variations. Their songs, however, are in all varieties of verse. Whether in song or in dialogue, they attempt to convey not strength, but pathos and tenderness. Their prose, in contrast, is very bare and therefore suited to their comic scenes. The history of the style of verse in Burmese drama may perhaps be made clear by a reference to the Elizabethan drama. U Kyin U was a Marlowe, U Pon Nya a Shakespeare, and the decadent dramatists are Fords.

Because of the great similarities, one is tempted to compare the 536 *
decadent Burmese drama with the decadent Elizabethan drama. In 178
both there is the same love of pathos, sentimentality, and horror. To take examples off-hand, Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* and our 'Baboon Play' touch on incestuous love in order to arouse both pity and horror, and the execution scenes in *The History of Thaton* and the 'Baboon Play' are comparable to the assassination scenes in Webster. The love of spectacle is common to both decadent dramas. We even find in the Burmese decadent drama a sentimental attitude towards kingship and royalty comparable to the attitude of some characters in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy*. The similarities are so evident that one wonders whether there is a similarity too between the causes of the decadence, whether the chief cause of the decadence in Burmese drama was because it had spent itself out in the hands of U Pon Nya and his contemporaries in the same way as the Elizabethan drama could be considered to have exhausted itself in the hands of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. But, as far as it is known, the age of U Pon Nya is not comparable to the age of Shakespeare, for Burmese drama, even during U Pon Nya's time, did not equal the Elizabethan drama in spontaneity or intensity. In spite of the fact that there were many imitators during his lifetime, U Pon Nya is the one dramatist of his period that we now remember, which seems to show that there was no outburst of national dramatic energy. And he was not a Shakespeare, and had by no means exhausted the possibilities of the drama when he was executed. Moreover, Burmese decadent drama is

536* indeed very far below its Elizabethan counterpart in artistic
178 achievement.

After the publication of the Second Part of *Saw-phay and Saw-may* early in 1883, the decadence went on unchecked. Even the able author of that play, as has already been pointed out, became totally decadent in his *Tin-tin and Khin-khin.* The learned dramatist of the 'Baboon Play' abandoned his scholarly attempts to preserve with modifications the earlier tradition of the drama and became totally decadent also. By the end of 1883 the drama had become so formless and chaotic that plays ceased to be printed. And by the beginning of 1885 dramatic productions and the drama had gone back to the thrall of professional actors, and sunk again to the low levels from which it had been temporarily rescued by the scholar-dramatists. In the winter of that year, Britain declared war against the Burmese kingdom for the third time, and on 1 January 1886 the annexation of the whole country was proclaimed. The British annexation gave the final blow to the dying drama, for Burmese drama, from the beginnings to the days of the decadence, was mainly dependent on the king's court. The court had introduced the *Rama* play from Siam, it had inspired Myawaddi, U Kyin U and U Pon Nya, and even when it was in eclipse towards the end, its mere existence inspired the scholars of the decadent period, though living under another rule, to fan the dying embers of the drama into flame. The language of the drama was akin to that of the court, the chief scene was usually the palace, and at least one king figured in a play. Men's minds connected the drama with the court, and when the court fell, the drama fell with it. Of course, the end of the kingdom caused chaotic conditions to prevail in other branches of Burmese literature, for the court had always been their patron also, but they recovered after a few years. It was the drama alone which had no recovery. The British annexation in its effect on Burmese drama is comparable to Cromwell's closing of the English theatres, for both events gave the death-blow to decadent and already dying dramas. But in England the theatres were opened again, and though the 'old' drama was dead, its tradition could inspire, to a certain extent, the rise of the Restoration drama. In Burma there was no Restoration and a new drama did not arise. Though after the first shock of the annexation, dramatic performances were revived all over the country, they were entirely in the hands of professional actors, who did not produce any new plays but only distorted the old. And

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had the rise of a new drama been possible, I believe that it would have been something akin to the English Restoration comedy, for a comedy of 'humours' was developing rapidly in the decadent period, even though it was subsidiary to sentimentality and pathos. But I am wandering into the realms of pure conjecture, which is inexcusable in a work attempting to be scientific.

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dawn broke and the audience dispersed to work, at the most only the 536*
first half of the play had been shown.

The continued contact with the outside world further elaborated 536*
the stage scenery. The great development was in the lighting. Even 177
during the decadent period, the stage was lit only by feeble oil lamps, but now powerful battery and arc lamps were used. Coloured lights played on the dancing actors and actresses, to the great delight of the audience. The developments in stage technique which would have been beneficial had the drama been alive, were wasted in the hands of the actors.

The people themselves neglected the 'old' plays. U Kyin U and 536*
U Pon Nya seemed to belong to the dim past and even the decadent 538
plays which flourished but five years previously seemed to be far away, 178 ●
for much had happened in the intervening years. Scholars continued to read and study the plays of the two great masters, but they were read more for their prose and poetry than for their dramatic merit. The reason why the 'old' drama was so completely forgotten is not far to seek. It was because of the popularity of the novel. When the Siamese drama was introduced into Burma, the Siamese court romances were introduced along with it, and for a time, at court, they rivalled the plays. The Burmese court dramatists wrote many imitations of the romances, and thus the Burmese novel was born. But, as the drama increased in popularity, the novel was soon forgotten. Again, when the court drama had lost its freshness, the Birth Stories of U Awbatha, which were in many ways novels, became popular, but the coming of U Kyin U regained for the drama its popularity, and checked any further development of the novel. The later history of the novel I do not profess to have studied—the subject is outside the scope of this thesis, and no one has as yet written on it—but I think that after the annexation of Upper Burma, by which time many Lower Burmans had been educated in English schools, English and English translations of European novels began to influence the Burmese novel. In about 1889 or 1890, there appeared the famous *Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mai Ma*, a brilliant adaptation into Burmese, by an unknown author, of an English translation of *The Count of Monte Cristo* by Dumas. And from that time onwards until 1919 when the English short story began to be imitated in Burmese, the novel was extremely popular and satisfied the people's interest in character and incident that had developed the drama. As has been stated, the non-existence of the throne prevented the rise of a new drama, but it was the

536* popularity of the novel which discouraged the people from reading
538 the once-famous plays and caused the 'dead' drama to be for-
● 178 gotten.

536* Yet the dramatic performances were popular everywhere, and in the circumstances, 'matinee idols' adored by their admirers soon appeared. These popular actors and actresses were admired purely for their dancing and singing. The result was to put the play yet further into the background. When a performance started, the audience clamoured for their favourite actor or actress, and during scenes in which he or she did not appear, it went to sleep. Three of these popular 'stars' became exceptionally famous; Aungbala, Sein Kadon, and Po Sein.[1] When Aungbala died in 1910, his funeral at Mandalay was similar in nature and incident to that of Rudolph Valentino, the cinema actor. These three led famous troupes of their own and toured the country, which on the whole tended to lower even further the dramatic performances in artistic value. For example, Sein Kadon danced with little electric bulbs all over his dress, and Po Sein had two English ex-soldiers with rifles standing motionless on each side of the stage whenever he appeared. There is no denying that there had been threats against his life by supporters of rival troupes, but I do not think that the rifles were quite necessary. In any case, the fact that he was guarded by two live English ex-soldiers impressed the audience, increased his prestige, and enhanced the theatrical effect. Such 'playing to the gallery' by the actors further prevented the possibility of any revival of [559] scholarly interest in the dramatic performance. Moreover, as rival supporters spread tales of immorality and bad conduct among those actors whom they did not favour, the prejudice against the profession increased in intensity among the more conservative Burmese. And by about 1900, the performances could claim at the most only a distant relationship with the drama of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya.

2. THE ENGLISH DRAMA IN BURMA

536* If we put the Sanskrit, Elizabethan, and Burmese dramas side by
101 side, we find that the Elizabethan and Burmese have much in common, both differing greatly from the Sanskrit.[2] Of the Sanskrit drama Dr A. B. Keith says:

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[1] Po Sein was decorated later by the Government. See chap. viii.

[2] Apart, of course, from the fact that the Sanskrit drama is classical in language and in age.

536* 177

could not and did not achieve success, even though the translator was the learned scholar and journalist, U Shwe Kyu.[1] The translations went unnoticed, and as the magazine became defunct in 1913, the precious issues which contain them are now available only in some libraries. After this failure to introduce Shakespeare into the vernacular, no further attempt was made, and Burmese is one of the very few civilized languages into which the plays of the great dramatist have not been successfully translated.

536* 178 668 871

In 1919, after the Great War, a wave of national aspiration swept over Asia, and Burma was affected by it. With the resulting revival of interest in Burmese institutions, the study of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya has become again popular, not only in schools and colleges, but all over the country. In schools following the established educational practice of prescribing Shakespeare's plays as textbooks, the plays of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya are now so prescribed. The newly established Rangoon University, founded by the Government in 1920, the Burma Research Society[2] and the Burma Book Club—institutions founded by the British Government and University officials interested in Burmese history and literature, encouraged and led to the study of Burmese literature, including the drama, side by side with the English. And when adaptations in Burmese of a play by Molière and another by Tchekov appeared in 1928 in the magazine of the Book Club,[3] there were hopes that a new drama was in course of being developed. But the study has been from the beginning independent of, and unconnected with, the theatre of the professional actors, who are in great demand and still popular with the majority of the people. Therefore the interest in the drama, even though spread beyond the university walls, remains academic rather than practical. And as far as I can see, there are no signs of the coming in the near future of a new national drama.

[1] The magazine in which the translation appeared was the *Shwe Kyu Magazine*, and U Shwe Kyu was its founder and editor. [113]

[2] The Text Publication Committee of the Research Society has published U Kyin U's *Daywagonban* and *Parpahein* with editorial notes, contributing much to our knowledge of the dramatist.

[3] The adaptations were from English translations of the two plays. English is the only medium of contact with the western drama for the Burmese, and, as in India, the influence of other European literatures can come only through English channels.

536* 177 345 Burmese drama before, and most of U Ku's plays and *The History of Thaton* and *Saw-phay and Saw-may* were produced at that theatre. Admission to a performance was by payment, a practice alien to dramatic performances before the decadent period. The rise of 'matinee idols' resulted in the chief actor, instead of the leader of the orchestra, becoming the head of a troupe of actors. Formerly, a dramatic performance took place during the afternoon or early evening, but now because of the repeated applause for the popular 'idols', a performance lasted throughout the night.

554 536* 178 I have stated how the prejudice against professional actors increased rather than diminished through the coming of popular actors or actresses and the resulting rivalry between different troupes. But the prejudice was gradually overcome through the efforts of one man, Po Sein, who used to perform with two ex-soldiers standing beside him with rifles. By about 1912, his reputation as a leading actor was firmly established, and from that time onwards he concerned himself with raising the prestige of his profession by destroying the bitterness and the ugliness that had crept into it. By his charm of manner and personality, he soon established himself as the undisputed leader of the profession. His generous gifts to charity and irreproachable conduct soon acquitted the profession from the charge of immorality and irreligiousness. During the Great War he contributed much to the Red Cross Fund. For his services to charity and his profession, he was given a title by the Government in 1919. Such an honour had never been given before to an actor (had such a thing happened under the Burmese kings or even before 1914, the officials would certainly have vehemently protested, taking it as an insult to their class), and the Government's action was the final denial of the old dictum that actors and beggars were outside the pale of good society.

2. The Puppet Show

536* 175 According to common tradition, the Burmese puppet show came into being long before the drama, but as our knowledge of the history of the puppet show before the reign of Bodawpaya (1782–1819) is meagre, perhaps it will be better to consider first the puppet's history from that reign.

[645] It will be remembered that, as stated in Chapter II, Bodawpaya, under whom the court and the 'people's' dramas united together to give rise to a national drama, created a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister, being a conservative courtier, wanted the drama

175 the same. Therefore after the minister's innovation, the puppet
536* show was actually a combination of two different things, the old
puppet show as seen in the animal puppets coming out to dance, and
the new puppet play. To many people it must have seemed that the
minister did not really introduce any new thing, but only lengthened
and made more elaborate that part of the show devoted to the prince
[101] and princess. It should be remembered that the Burmese had no
puppet drama. In India, in Java, in Siam, in Bali, and in Turkey,
there was an actual puppet drama, but in Burma the puppet
show was entirely dependent for its plays on the drama of living
actors. The minister imposed two restrictions on the puppet show.
[656] First, the plays presented by puppets must either be founded on
the *Jatakas*, or on the great events in the nation's history. Second,
the dress, manners, and customs of the king and his court presented
on the puppet stage should be correct in every detail.

536* The innovations of the able minister resulted in the rise of a new
463 class of puppet show-men. They were mostly drawn from the ranks
of the professional actors, but they were of proved ability and experience,
and had to serve at least some months of apprenticeship.
The show-men were never looked down upon, and the living actors
themselves held them in respect. The puppet show-men were very
conservative. State control ended with the death of the minister,
perhaps because his successors were not so able; but the show-men
kept their stage exactly the same as it was in the time of the minister,
except that they presented the plays of U Kyin U, most of which
were founded neither on the *Jatakas* nor on historical events.
During the decadent period, the puppets stuck to the 'old' plays,
and introduced no innovations either in stage-craft or in dramatic
536* technique. The annexation by the British in 1886 was disastrous
178 to the puppet show, for, unlike the living actors, the puppets were
almost totally dependent on court patronage. When the country
became peaceful again by about 1885, the puppet show-men made
gallant attempts to revive their shows, and all over Burma they gave
performances. But the show belonged to a dead past, and the
conservatism of the show-men would not allow the introduction of
anything new. The old show-men died out, and there were not
many new-comers, for the profession demanded a term of apprenticeship
and its conservatism did not suit the young men, products of the
changed conditions. The result was that the puppet troupes gradually
disappeared. In 1921, when a puppet performance was given at

Pegu, many English officials asked to be my father's guests, for 536*
although they had been some years in Burma and heard so much of 178 ●
the puppet show, they had never been able to find one. In 1929, on inquiry, I found that there was not one puppet troupe in Lower Burma, though there were two in Upper Burma; of these, only one was giving performances occasionally, the members of the other being content to earn their living by some other means.

Before considering the probable history of the puppet show before 536*
the time of Bodawpaya, it is necessary to give an account of the 101
puppet-shadow show of the east. The home of the puppet show was India. Pischel in *The Home of the Puppet Stage* even contends that the Sanskrit shadow drama preceded the drama proper, but that theory is not accepted by Dr Keith and other scholars. From India, with Hindu expansion overseas, the puppet-shadow show spread, together with the epics and the drama, to Malaya and the East Indies. In Java it found a permanent home, and there shadow drama is still very popular. From Java it spread to Siam and other countries of Indo-China, to Persia, Turkey, Arabia and Japan. Perhaps it even spread to Europe; at least the English Punch is a direct descendant of the Turkish puppet Karageuz, who himself was a descendant of the Sanskrit puppet Vidusaka. To give an idea of the puppet-shadow show, I will give a description of a Java shadow performance.

As 'stage' there is a huge curtain with a light behind it. The puppets are put between the light and the curtain, on which their shadows are thrown. 'The light shines through the transparent material of which his (the puppet's) many-coloured garments are made. His shadow on the curtain glows with such bright hues within the framework of dark shells that he looks like a figure in stained glass. . . . In the middle of the huge curtain is seen a fantastic vine with interlacing branches. Monkeys and birds climb on it, and beneath it two grim guards stand watch. When the play begins, the strange shadow tree vanishes. The stage manager is the *Dalang*. He sits on a mat and gives the play.[1] Back of him is the orchestra to accompany
the explanations of the *Dalang*. Whenever a new figure enters the [534]
orchestra plays. The men in the audience are allowed to sit on the right of the *Dalang* and see the actual puppets perform, and the
children sit at the *Dalang's* left hand. But the women are not permit- [562]
ted to see the real puppets act. They see only the shadows on the

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[1] i.e. he recites the words of the play.

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● [178]
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[562]
[868]

16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagát* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

862 Burman children are not weaned until the second or 854 third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a [165] chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

855 Children's heads are shaved 858 in more or less fanciful ways up to the ages of ten or twelve, after 302 which the hair is allowed to grow long.

858 The road-fronts of the houses 857 are always peopled with children. Children are equals and are free 524 to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take in- [854] terest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (BAUNGBAN).

18. YOUNG CHILDREN'S TOYS.

Manufactured toys are 524
the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *dô* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gôn-hnyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sanger- [178]
mano's time (1783-1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *sitôppyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burman boys are more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

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346 *kambawá*. The laity assembled outside the precincts let off rockets and guns
in celebration of the event. Finally, the ceremony of *yeźtcha*, the pouring
796 of water (No. 100), is performed by the grantor of the site—as at every other

778

[213]

46. ILLUMINATED KAMBAWA.

religious dedication—to signify that the property has been dedicated for ever. The precincts of the *thein* are marked by low boundary pillars, mostly of Sagáing marble, set in the trench, which is then filled in. A different form of *thein* is the *ye-thein*, which is built over the water to effect its isolation.

792 Although the *yahán*, as already stated, may not ask for anything, he may
decline what is offered. He signifies this by inverting his *thabéit* (*thabeit-*
735 *hmauk*). The action has become a symbol for excommunication. The *yahán*
might assemble in the *thein* and perform *thabéit-hmauk* against a layman for
[794] heinous wickedness. His house would
be passed by in collecting *sun* and all
offerings tendered by him refused. The
[178] practice has become obsolete; it is said
to have no warrant in the scriptures, and
to be contrary to their spirit.

47. SUN SENT BY THE KYAÙNGTAGA.

Where the people are very prosperous and the *yahán* are not many, the collecting of *sun* in the streets has sunk to a formality observed by the novices only, who on return to the monastery empty their *thabéit* to the dogs. But in other circumstances the sojourner *yahán*, novices and scholars live on the *sun*. An ordinance of the Buddha dispenses the *yahán* from collecting his food from house to house if there be pious people who proffer him his sustenance at his abode. The founder of the monastery (*Kyaung-tagá*), who nomin-

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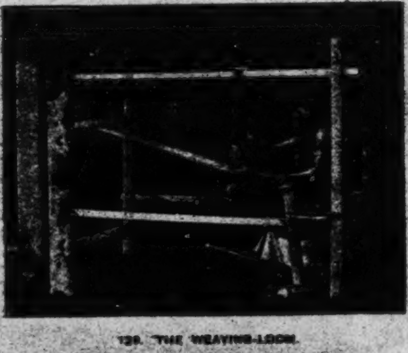
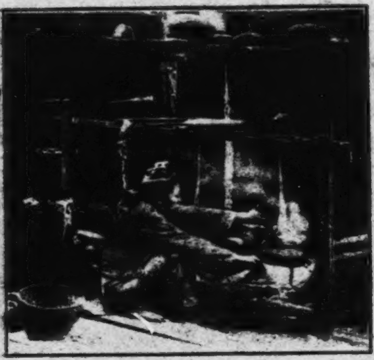
[283]

128. CLEANING AND SPINNING COTTON.

For work and exercise the *pasò* is girt into the narrowest compass (*kaddung-chaik*, No. 407). The women's cloth —*tamèin*—is only three cubits long. To the upper edge of the figured silk is joined a strip of plain dark-coloured cotton or velvet. To the lower edge is joined a piece striped with the colours of the centre-piece, to that again a strip of red silk shot with white, and it is lined with calico. The *tamein* overlaps very little (Nos. 136, 137). *Pasò* and [178] *tamèin* are the distinctive national dress. Both are in process of being superseded by the more convenient *lòndyì*, except for *gala* occasions (No. 34). The *lòndyì* is an endless cloth, generally of red tartan, about equal to two *tamèin*, worn like the Malay *sàrong*. Men wear their long hair in a top-knot, and 302 frequently use no head-dress. For *gala* they wear a fillet of white muslin round the temples tied in a knot, of which the long ends stand up (*pasin-hnyat*). Bright-coloured figured silk kerchiefs (*gaung-baung*) are worn in the same way. But more generally hair and kerchief are wound up together upon the head. Women wear nothing on the head except flowers and jewels. They wear kerchiefs (*pwa*) over their shoulders, of the same kind as the men's *gaungbaung*. These kerchiefs were at first of bright Chinese embroidery, but are now damask silk prints from Europe. The fashion of their patterns and colours changes. [178] Jackets were not an invariable part of the Burman costume, but are now universal. The older pattern of men's white muslin jacket (*taing-ma-thein inji*, Nos. 374, 389), and women's white muslin, or coloured and gold-figured gauze jackets (*lesshé-inji*, No. 379), are of Indian type. They are now superseded by the more convenient *kadò inji*, of Shan-Chinese type, worn by both men and women (Nos. 115, 288). Over-jackets of imported woollens have also become general. A wrap or blanket of heavy cotton cloth, or of imported broad-cloth (*saung*, No. 184), completes the outfit. 000 No kind of wool is indigenous



129. THE WEAVING-LOOM.



142. THE COOKING-PLACE.

302 of a tree of the dry zone, ground into a paste with water on a special stone. It is perfumed by grinding sandal-wood with it. [252] The paste is smeared on the face and left to dry, after which the excess is rubbed off. For great occasions the paste is left on over-night. But ordinarily the face is "freshed" with water (*myo-hna-thit*) [515] on rising in the morning. The Burmans admire white teeth and [178] polish them with charcoal on a soft stick. The old style of women's hair-dress was like the early *chignon* fashion of about 1867 in Europe. The *sadôn* in this form is seen in Nos. 30, 381. About 1880 a new fashion was set by the palace, which now prevails. Tresses of false hair are much used by the women. Flowers in the hair and jewellery complete the toilet, which, like that of the actors in the *pwè*, is performed in view of everyone. The men's toilet consists in combing their long hair (No. 127). They take pride in the size of their top-knot (*yaung*) and rarely eke it out with false hair in the way the women do. The heavy knot works loose, so that combing and knotting up go on perpetually. The hair of both sexes is coarse and straight and jet black. Children's hair gets foxy from alternate exposure to [515] rain and sun. The hair is smoothed with cocoanut oil and washed with soap-nut once or twice a month. At other times the Burmans are concerned to [264] avoid wetting their hair. The native wooden combs are coarse, but the Chinese tooth comb is beginning to serve a useful purpose. 145 Burmans turn grey at forty to fifty years of age and are 302 white at sixty to seventy. Baldness is rare. Aged men still wear their little top-knot. The men's faces are smooth, many

143. THE FAMILY MEAL (OLD STYLE).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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[262]
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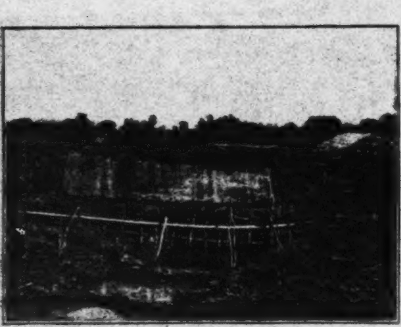

198. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN).

banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hnwè*. After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over a furnace. Iron cauldrons like those in [178] No. 186 are superseding [415] the earthen pots, and the round cauldron is in its turn being replaced by a flat iron [227] pan.

224 The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satraps, remains to the *vaurieus* of the villages

199. SHORE NET

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322

[241]

244. MIXED HILL-CROP OF RICE, SESAMUM, AND TEAK, IN SEPTEMBER (P. 140).

of being nearly all heart-wood, having considerable strength, with moderate hardness and weight, working easily with axe, saw and chisel, taking nails, and above all, not rusting nails or iron in contact with it. It has a serviceable brown colour and an odour by which it may always be distinguished, due to the presence of an oil which repels the attacks of insects, notably of the termites, and which protects it from decay. Teak is in short the prince of eastern woods. At the end of the eighteenth century, teak was already being worked out of the Burma forests and brought to port, where the foreign shippers had established saw-pits for squaring the logs. The steel pit-saws
● [178 found their way into trade and gave an impetus to wood architecture, of which the ecclesiastical
341] buildings of Burma are the chief examples. Timber-traders started building teak ships in Burma, employing Chinese carpenters. This
[501] business has been abandoned, but lighters are still built.

313
137 The teak-tree (*tectona grandis*) occurs in patches of the dry mixed forest, the forest namely of which the principal element is a deciduous bamboo, with timber trees of fifty or more deciduous species scattered through it. Of these species about half a dozen produce serviceable timber. The bamboo-stools send up their culms to heights of forty and sixty feet in the course of a few weeks, before their branchlets and leaves appear. By means of this the bamboo has the advantage over all other vegetation. The seedlings of trees have to struggle up under its cover. At intervals of twenty to thirty years the bamboo species flower, to grow again from seed. Then is

245. FLUE OF FACTORY DISUSED TEN YEARS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

385. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman 644
dominion. Sagáing was
abandoned for the last 633
time in 1776 for a new
capital at Ãmayapôya [346]
(*Amarapúra*—Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandálé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebô, Myinzaing, Pannya. [438
The capitals of the Taláing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*).
Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with 178]
anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahâ-yazawin*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byammâ* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chrysê Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

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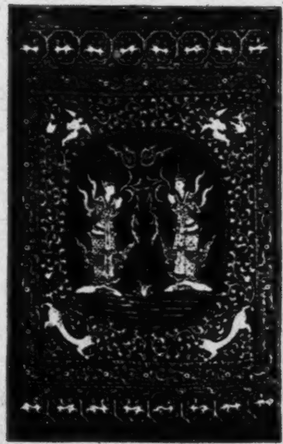
[173]
[531
776]



386. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

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* The name is also written *Myammâ*, but commonly pronounced *Bamâ*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions. [101]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP1

The Burmans do not appreciate singing in a low pitch. They do not admire men's voices in the baritone or the bass. A-natural is considered the standard pitch for men's and D-natural for women's voices. The higher the tenor the more it is admired. Their ideal singer is a tenor approaching a contralto. On the other hand a soprano voice is less admired than a contralto. The propensity is to cultivate high voices in the men and low voices in the women. The professional singers are true artists and are able to command the feelings of their hearers. The *ngo-dyin than*—weeping song—invariably brings tears to the eyes of the hearers. The love songs are full of pathos. An indispensable scene in all the operas is the separation and meeting again of the lovers. It is the most interesting part of the play and is eagerly awaited by the play-goers. The best songs are sung in these scenes and the best talents of the performers called into play. The Burman is readily excited by music; the dancing songs never fail to set his hands and legs going. There is a style of martial music played at boxing-matches, races, and grand tugs-of-war which excites the Burmans to action. The performance of a complete Burmese band is a study in itself. Considering that the musicians play without a score, the harmony and strict time they observe are truly wonderful. 533

[534]

484. THE BURMESE HARP AND DULCIMER (p. 176).

A few specimens of genuine Burmese music are appended (pp. 216–220). No. 1 is a song in the major scale, with harp accompaniment. The first twenty bars constitute the usual prelude to music of this kind. The tendency of the Burmese musician is to repeat the vocal part as an interlude, with all the variations and embellishments he can add. The last four bars are also usually played as a symphony at the end of each verse. The prelude and symphony are not peculiar to this song but are played with all songs of the same description. No. 2 is a specimen of another style, more suited for an orchestra. Nos. 3 and 4 are examples in the minor scale. Both are very ancient. No. 3 is called *Nan-thein yodaya*. It used to be played on the entrance of the king to the Audience Hall and is the true national anthem of the Burmans. Its beauty and grandeur need no comment. No. 4 is a popular lullaby.

It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past. [177 178]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX D.

STATISTICAL.

AREA.

131

Burma Proper and Pegu (excluding Shan States, 61,000 sq. m.) square miles.	158,322 = 101,326,122 acres.
Area cropped, 1900	10,556,104 acres.

161 POPULATION IN 1901 (including Shan States, 1,228,460) . 9,221,161

Mean annual birth-rate per 1,000	37·34
,, death ,, ,,	28·16

162

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1891.

Burmans and Talaings { males, 3,030,797 females, 3,098,385 } (Increase since 1881, 22½ per cent.)	6,129,182
Shans	206,794
Karéns	633,657
Chins.	95,571
Chimpáws (Kachin ? more)	2,200
Chinese	37,407
Natives of India	432,639
Europeans (including 4000 troops).	12,491
Eurasians	6,978
Others	167,134
Total, census of 1891	7,722,053

FISCAL.

178 In 1796 the special impost of 33·3 tikals of fine silver per house took three years to collect, and produced the equivalent of about nine million rupees. The purchasing-power of money has declined 50 to 60 per cent. since that time, apart from depreciation of silver. 651

435 In 1900 the gross revenue of Burma was 70,400,000 rupees, of which Pegu contributed 63 per cent. The expenditure was forty-three millions. Out of the surplus there was a balance of Rs. 24,700,000 of Imperial revenue over expenditure. The incidence of direct taxation (land and capitation taxes, which produce about one-half of the revenue) is four rupees per head of population; which, with an average of 5·5 inhabitants, comes to twenty-two rupees per house.

CRIMINAL, AVERAGES 1894–8.

674

Convictions for offences against life (including attempted murder and culpable homicide, 40 per cent.)	244
,, ,, hurt	2,691
,, ,, rape	76
,, ,, robbery	654
,, ,, theft	8,681

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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COMMERCIAL.

Values of the staple items of the sea-borne trade of 1899, to and from all countries, in lakhs of rupees :

IMPORTS.

Item	Value
Apparel (including haberdashery, excluding hosiery)	30·13
Candles	1·94
Cards, playing	2·00
Canes and rattans	1·17
Clocks and watches	1·18
Coal	25·70
Cotton yarn	61·57
„ piece goods	146·68
„ handkerchiefs & shawls	26·43
„ thread (including hosiery ?)	7·15
Drugs (incl. opium by the Government 14·4, pp. 156–7)	50·89
Dyes	17·10
Earthenware and porcelain	6·12
Glass (incl. beads and bottles)	6·92
Jute (gunny-bags)	50·50
Leather (excl. boots and shoes)	2·41
Liquors	32·11
Machinery	16·01
Matches (safety only)	8·22
Metals :	
brass	4·34
copper	2·84
iron (incl. hardware)	42·07
lead	0·25
steel	3·24
tin (incl. tin-plate ?)	1·30
zinc	10·60
Oils (kerosene)	54·25
Paints and colours	1·90
Paper	3·00
Provisions (see p. 131)	98·42
Salt	12·28
Seeds	20·84
Silk : yarn	14·16
„ manufactured	39·43
Spices and Betel nut	48·04
Sugar	31·56
Tobacco, unmanufactured	54·24
Tobacco, manufactured	0·64
Treasure	73·36
Umbrellas	8·73
Woollen goods	20·31
„ shawls	3·28
Miscellaneous	111·64
Total Imports	1154·95

EXPORTS.

Item	Value
Caoutchouc, raw	11·37
Cotton, raw	26·36
Catch	22·74
Drugs	7·77
Fruit and vegetables	3·90
Hides, raw	16·01
Horns	0·73
Ivory	0·59
Jade	6·15
Jewellery	0·35
Jewels (rubies and pearls, excl. postal)	0·34
Lac	1·32
Tin	14·27
Oils, paraffin, wax	8·[illegible]
„ other	43·24
Rice : in husk	20·94
„ husked, "cargo rice"	1119·87
Rice bran, "meal"	27·79
Sesamum seed	0·05
Spices	9·92
Timber, teak	71·25
„ other	3·32
Tobacco, unmanufactured	1·33
„ manufactured	1·70
Treasure	68·11
Miscellaneous	51·10
Total Exports	1538·85

DEVELOPMENT OF SEA-BORNE TRADE.

Years	[illegible]	1825	1830	1840	1854
Number of ships	20	56	140	..	..
Tonnage	..	5,400	..	82,000	86,000
Value of exports, Rs.	..	Coasting trade with Calcutta	..	..	300,000
Value of imports, Rs.	..	..	..	..	..

Years	1866	1876	1883	1893	1899
Number of ships	..	..	..	2,500	3,129
Tonnage	..	..	..	1,300,000	2,060,737
Value of exports, Rs.	23,140,620	55,166,540	87,202,560	114,058,201	153,885,920
Value of imports, Rs.	25,553,850	47,094,040	73,134,510	98,504,075	115,495,150

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

792 the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great
881 Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[21]

[301] Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accom-
562 paniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings
881 which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic
779* schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and
they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character
871 or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[22]

792 Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout
871 the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes
more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both
178 organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

792 Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education.
[757] Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially
737 in Upper Burma.[23] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.

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[21] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[22] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[23] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine," writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

178 Since those remote times, the Burmese customary law has
671 developed naturally, side by side with the growth and development of Burmese society. The Burmese have no great national code of laws gathered and authorized by a powerful king, no great charter forced from an unwilling king, no great statute passed by a national assembly fighting against tyranny, but nonetheless the Burmese customary law shows a conception of justice and a love of personal liberty in which every Burmese must take pride.

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643 To the Burmese, before the partial introduction of the English legal system, law meant civil law. To them, civil law was purely customary, and besides custom, there could be no other source of law. The idea of legislation by a parliament or a congress, or by executive order of the king was unfamiliar to the Burmese. In English common law, the king could do no wrong, and thus he was above the law. [685 But with the Burmese, 694] the king himself was not exempt from the operation of the civil law, and the king was often the defendant in civil suits, usually for wrongful seizure of land. Admittedly the king was above his subjects, and he had the right to levy taxes in service or in kind, but he was also under a duty to give protection to the people. To protect the people and to preserve the peace, the king must prevent wrong-doing and punish wrong-doers, and it was for the king to proclaim which acts were wrongs from the point of view of public peace. Thus, at the beginning of each reign, the king proclaimed his list of crimes, and the punishments he would mete out to those who were found guilty of those crimes.

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681 The list of crimes varied with each king, but the usual crimes were offenses against the state, murder, robbery, theft, rape, and serious defamation. The usual penalties were whipping, confinement in irons, maiming, banishment, and death, with or without forfeiture to the king's treasury of the offender's possessions. [684] In the eighteenth century, adultery was added to the list of crimes, with the punishment of whipping for both the woman and her paramour, and proclamation of their guilt by beat of drums and gongs. In the nineteenth

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
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692 original and appellate jurisdiction. These officers were executive
631 officers under the crown, but when they sat as judges in
their respective courts, they were judges in the full sense of the
term, for they were free of all executive control. Finally there
[643] was the Supreme Court. This final court of appeal consisted of
the king as the president, the crown prince as the vice-president,
the four chief ministers, and their four deputies. The
king, however, attended only on rare occasions, and thus the
crown prince usually presided over the court. The law that
these courts administered and interpreted was the customary
694 law of the Burmese people. One special feature of the courts
[693] was their attempt to settle the case before actually trying it.
Lawyers, who were attached to the courts as officers, although
their fees were payable by the litigants, also endeavored to
conciliate the contending parties. Often the parties decided to
refer their suit to an arbitrator. There was no right of appeal
from the decision of an arbitrator, on the ground that the
arbitrator was chosen by the contending parties themselves.
When a suit had been heard and decided, the successful party
offered a dish of pickled tea to the other party, and if the latter
accepted, the parties were deemed to have been reconciled,
and there could be no appeal from the decision of the court.
The refusal of the unsuccessful party to accept the offered dish
of pickled tea served as his notice of appeal.

671 Burmese history, like the history of many countries, records
[178] rebellions, invasions, and violent struggles for power,
177 but the development of Burmese customary law has been
175 singularly free from catastrophes and sudden changes. There
has never been a revolution in the Burmese customary law.
However, the law in the course of its long history experienced
three great impacts with the outside world. The first was the
impact of Hindu jurisprudence, second was the impact of
Buddhism, and the third was the impact of English law as the
result of the British conquest of the country towards the end
of the nineteenth century.

Some of my colleagues of this conference have already

illustrates that with the Burmese, Manu had become only an 671
ordinary human being with the human trait of making mis- 773
takes, so very different from the divine hermit of Hindu
lore.

By the thirteenth century, the customary law of the Bur- 671
mese came to be collected and written down by jurists and [178]
scholars. Throughout the intervening centuries until the Brit-
ish conquest of the country, such collections of the law, and
also collections of judicial precedents were made from time to
time by scholars and jurists. But those collections were not
codes, and were not fully binding on the judges. In all these [177]
collections, Manu was mentioned as the law-giver, and this
lip-service paid to the prestige of the Hindu Code of Manu
has misled modern scholars, especially European scholars of
Burmese history and Burmese law, into thinking that the Bur-
mese law was merely the Hindu Code of Manu modified and
transplanted almost overnight in Burma of the eleventh cen-
tury.

But in the eleventh century, the Burmese did become Bud- 177
dhists almost overnight. The Burmese took to Buddhism with 609
great enthusiasm, because the way of life preached by the 565
Buddha seemed to be identical with their own democratic 779
way of life. The Buddhistic revolt against the rigid caste sys-
tem of the Hindu society could be appreciated by the Burmese,
who called the Hindu half-playfully and half-seriously, "kula"
or "caste people," and the Buddhistic emphasis on the equality
of all men appealed to the Burmese with their classless so-
ciety and their own emphasis on individual freedom. The [671]
jurists and the scholars waxed enthusiastic over Buddhism,
and they gave a Buddhistic coloring and a Buddhistic back-
ground to their collections of Burmese customary law. This
misled the early British administrators and judges in Burma
into thinking that Burmese customary law was Buddhistic in
origin, and gave to it the misleading official name of "Bur-
mese Buddhist Law."

The impact of the English legal system introduced into 000

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

671 The impact of the English legal system introduced into
177 the country after the annexation of 1886 shook Burmese customary
178 law to its very foundations, just as Burmese society itself rocked with the shock of the impact. But Burmese society soon regained its balance, and so did Burmese customary law. The British, by statute, superseded the Burmese customary law of contract and tort with their own English common law, but recognized the Burmese customary law regarding marriage and divorce, adoption, inheritance, and religious usage, and these branches of the customary law remain valid today. Thus, whereas in India the legislature now struggles against strong public opposition to pass new statutes introducing changes in the Hindu law of marriage and inheritance so as to adjust Hindu law to new developments in Hindu society, the Burmese, after their hard-won independence, have not found it necessary to modify by statute or to codify their customary law. With regard to the English law of contract and tort that was introduced into the country after the British annexation, the Burmese did not find the new law strange and mysterious, for the fundamental principles of Burmese law of contract and tort had certain similarities with the fundamental
675 principles of English common law. Thus the principles
671 of specific performance, of damages, of a period of limitation,
672 and a remoteness of damage were known to the Burmese law also. Even the English legal plea of "Act of God" for exemption from liability has its Burmese counterpart in the plea of "ill fortune." The following rules of law relating to ferries will illustrate this aspect of Burmese law:

> If a man, for the sake of hire, becomes a ferryman, let him follow these rules. He shall carefully consider and take only the correct fare. If he is careless, or jocular, or immodest, and as a result, property of a passenger is spilled or damaged, let him make good the loss to the owner. But if he crosses with proper care and proper behaviour, and property be lost or damaged, let him blame ill fortune, and he shall not be liable. Women with child, monks, and sick persons shall be ferried across, even if they have no money to pay as fare.